

An Exploration of Muslim Canadians' Perceptions towards Law Enforcement Authorities and
their Willingness to Cooperate in General Crime Control and Counterterrorism Efforts

by

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Abstract

Research suggests that following the tragic events of 9/11, Muslim Canadians have been subjected to increased discrimination by law enforcement officers. Nonetheless, few studies have explored how such experiences may impact: (a) their perceptions of law authorities, and (b) their willingness to cooperate in general crime control and counterterrorism efforts. This thesis seeks to address these two gaps by employing face-to-face interviews with ten Muslim men and women enrolled at a Canadian University in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) between the ages of 19-25. Utilizing a procedural justice theoretical framework, it was hypothesized that perceived discrimination by enforcement officers would precipitate negative perceptions and reduced cooperative intentions towards them. A thematic analysis of the qualitative data revealed four key themes surrounding participants' perceptions and attitudes towards authorities: (a) a lack of confidence in enforcement abilities to combat crime, (b) perceived discrimination, (c) positivity, and (d) a need for relation-building. Additionally, three determinants of cooperative intentions were identified: (a) moral incentives, (b) distrust in authorities, and (c) instrumental/personal factors. The theoretical and practical implications of the present study's findings and future areas of research are discussed.

Keywords: *Cooperation with law authorities, Muslim Canadians, discrimination, counterterrorism, procedural justice, 9/11, terrorism*

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents, Sawsan and Osama Fadl, who have always showered me with unconditional love. You have shown me the benefits of having a strong work ethic and persevering to achieve my goals. Without your selfless devotion, my academic achievements would not have been possible.

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Introduction and Significance of the Current Study

Due to sustained immigration, Canada's Muslim population has been on the rise since the 1990s (Wilkins-Laflamme, 2018). Statistics Canada's (2011) most recent National Household Survey revealed that in 2011, approximately 3.2% (1, 053, 945) of Canada's total population was comprised of Muslim individuals. Furthermore, according to Morcency, Malenfant, and MacIsaac's (2017) most recent report on population projections in Canada, Muslims are expected to represent between 4.8% and 5.6% of all Canadians by 2026. Of the over one-million Muslims living in Canada, more than half reside in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2011). The majority of Canada's Muslim population is concentrated in the nation's three largest metropolitans: Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal (Statistics Canada, 2011). Moreover, Canada's Muslim population is ethnically diverse, with the majority of their population being of Pakistani descent (Statistics Canada, 2011). Arabs comprise the second largest group, followed by other ethnicities, such as Caribbean, African, Turkish, Chinese, Afghan, Persian, and more (as cited in Hanniman, 2008). As compared to the overall Canadian population, Muslim Canadians are overrepresented as both immigrants and visible minorities (Wilkins-Laflamme, 2018). According to Wilkins-Laflamme's (2018) analysis of the most recent National Household Survey (2011), only 18% of Muslims were born in Canada in 2011, and 88% identified as visible minorities. The latter statistic renders many Muslim Canadians susceptible to racially-motivated counterterrorism policing practices (Rana, 2007).

In fact, since the tragic 9/11 terrorist attacks against the United States, many Muslim Canadians have reported experiencing strict scrutiny by government officials (National Council of Canadian Muslims, 2015). Some Muslim communities have expressed concerns regarding the discriminate enforcement of counterterrorism policies with their fundamental rights of liberty

and security (Gaskew, 2009; National Council of Canadian Muslims, 2015). Specifically, Canada's Anti-Terrorism Act of 2015 has garnered much opposition due to its authorization of various rights-intrusive investigative procedures (National Council of Canadian Muslims, 2015). Some of these procedures include arresting those suspected of promoting terrorism, regardless of whether an act is actually carried out, extending preventative detention periods for up to seven days, and prohibiting individuals from being notified when, and why, their names are added to the no-fly list (Quan, 2015; Payton, 2015). While these provisions apply to all Canadian citizens, Roach (2006) insists that the disproportional scrutiny and racial profiling of Muslim Canadians by national security investigators in the post 9/11 climate places them at an elevated risk for having their civil liberties and rights violated. It is worth noting that antiterror racial profiling tactics rely on the construction of a "Muslim" race (Rana, 2007). As such, perceived Muslim Canadians, including individuals with dark complexions, beards, or turbans, may also be targeted by aggressive counterterrorism policies, despite not affiliating with Islam (Rana, 2007). Nevertheless, scholarly research that has demonstrated a heightened fear of police scrutiny after 9/11 in Canada has tended to be predicated on accounts provided by Muslims (Jamil & Rousseau, 2012; Yousif, 2005).

Though 9/11 undoubtedly marked an increase in the monitoring and surveillance of Muslim Canadians by law enforcement and intelligent agencies (Jamil & Rousseau, 2012; Yousif, 2005), numerous terrorist attacks against Western nations by self-proclaimed Muslim terrorists have occurred since then. Recent moral panics triggered by Islamic-inspired terror attacks, including the 2014 Parliament Hill shooting in Ottawa, the 2015 Paris attacks, and the 2017 Manchester attacks, among others, (Ahmed & Botelho, 2014; Almasry, Meilhan, &

Bittermann, 2015; Carter & Fantz, 2014; Karia, 2017), give reason to believe that scrutiny against Muslim communities by law authorities in Canada has perhaps intensified.

Despite the extant literature that has suggested counterterrorism policing in Canada has disproportionately targeted Muslim citizens (National Council of Canadian Muslims, 2015), no studies, to date, have sought to examine how this mistreatment of their communities may impact their perceptions of law authorities. It is imperative that this area of research is further explored, as international studies have consistently shown that the attitudes racial and ethnic minority groups hold toward law enforcement authorities directly influence their willingness to cooperate in crime control endeavors (Sargeant, Murphy, & Cherney, 2014; Tyler & Huo, 2002). More specifically, past British, American, and Australian studies have found various factors to be causally related to Muslims' cooperative behaviours, including: procedural justice, or the perceived fairness of policing tactics, police legitimacy, and perceptions of societal discrimination (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Murphy, Madon, & Cherney, 2017; Huq, Tyler, & Schulhofer, 2011; Tyler et al., 2010). Whether these factors may be connected to cooperative intentions among Muslims in Canada has yet to be investigated.

In light of the abovementioned shortcomings in previous literature, this thesis aims to address the following two research questions:

- a) What are Muslim Canadians' perceptions, experiences, and attitudes toward law enforcement authorities in the wake of the ongoing global war on terror? And;
- b) What are the factors that determine their willingness to cooperate in general crime control and counterterrorism efforts?

The findings of the present study may be of significant value to law enforcement agencies in Canada for two reasons. First, this study offers an understanding of potential determinants of

community-police cooperation among Muslim Canadians. It has been well-established that the police's ability to effectively combat crime and ensure community safety depends on citizen cooperation (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Thus, in order to adequately protect and respond to crime against Muslim victims, it is imperative that the factors driving their cooperative intentions are understood. This research is indispensable, as recent reports from Statistics Canada revealed that anti-Muslim hate crime rose a staggering 61% in 2015 to 159 incidents, compared with 99 incidents in 2014 (Leber, 2017). Furthermore, illuminating ways to elicit cooperation from Muslim Canadians may also help law enforcement combat domestic terrorism. As Gaskew (2009) notes, Muslims play a vital role in the war on terror, since they are law enforcement's primary source of credible and reliable information about Islam.

Second, by examining Muslim Canadians' perceptions of law enforcement, this study informs law authorities of possible ways to establish an open, trusting, and respectful relationship with members of their community. This is essential, as evidence suggests that minority perceptions of police treatment towards their communities may govern their perceptions of self-identity and belonging in broader society (Bradford, 2014). Moreover, Poynting and Perry (2007) assert that state-supported Islamophobic rhetoric and discriminatory policies against Muslims may legitimize public hatred of their communities. Thus, by promoting a positive and just relationship with Muslim individuals, law enforcement authorities not only communicate their valued membership in Canadian society, but they may also help alleviate the various forms of societal discrimination members of their community endure.

The next chapter reviews the preceding literature on ethnic and racial minorities' perceptions and attitudes toward police within the North American context. Also included in the following chapter is an analysis of the various factors that have been found to shape the

willingness of minority groups to cooperate with police in crime control efforts. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the gaps and limitations of previous research.

Chapter Three provides an exposition of Tom Tyler's (2003) theory of procedural justice, which was used to predict and analyze this study's findings on participant perceptions and cooperative intentions with authorities. The conceptualization and four key elements of procedural justice are detailed.

Chapter Four explains the research method (i.e. face-to-face, semi-structured interviews) used for this study and the rationale for its use. It includes a description of the participant sample, recruitment procedures, inclusion criteria, ethical considerations, data analysis process, and possible advantages and disadvantages of insider research.

Chapter Five summarizes recurrent themes about participants' perceptions of law authorities, and the factors shaping their willingness to cooperate in general crime control and counterterrorism investigations.

Finally, the sixth chapter discusses the theoretical and practical implications of the present findings, limitations of the current study, and directions for future research.

II. Literature Review

In this chapter, three bodies of literature are provided. The first section reviews existing research on the perceptions, opinions, and attitudes towards police exhibited by ethnic and racial minority groups in North America. In the second section, various factors that have been found to predict intentions of cooperating with police among minority groups internationally are discussed. The third section presents the scant amount of research that has examined perceptions of and cooperative intentions with police among Muslim Westerners in particular. Finally, the limitations of previous works and the unique contributions of the current study are discussed.

a) Perceptions of Police among Ethnic and Racial Minorities in North America

Given the longstanding history of discriminatory policing against ethnic and racial minority groups in North America (Lee, Steinberg, & Piquero, 2010; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011), there has existed significant scholarly interest in their perceptions and attitudes toward police. Though few researchers have examined how ethnic and racial minorities in Canada perceive police, the majority of extant literature on this topic has been conducted in the United States (Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005). A sizable body of research has found that as compared to their white counterparts, ethnic minorities in Canada and the US are more likely to believe that police employ racial profiling tactics, use excessive force, are untrustworthy, and ineffective (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cheng, 2015; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Dowler, 2003; Priest & Carter, 2009; Sprott & Doob, 2014; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). While such findings have been substantiated among various ethnic minority groups, mounting evidence has suggested that negative attitudes towards police are most prevalent among African Americans (O'Connor, 2008).

Furthermore, past research has indicated that certain minority groups in the US and Canada exhibit less favourable attitudes toward the police than others (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cao, 2011; Esbensen, Winfree, Taylor, & Turner, 2001; Peirone, Tyndale, Gbadebo, & Kerr, 2017; Weinrath, Young, & Kohm, 2012; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Within a Canadian context, studies have revealed higher levels of perceived police discrimination and dissatisfaction among Blacks and Aboriginals than Asians and non-Aboriginals, respectively (Weinrath et al., 2012; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Research has also shown that Canadian minorities of non-visible and immigrant status report more positive evaluations of police than those of visible and native-born status (Cao, 2011; Peirone et al., 2017).

There has not only been evidence of discrepancies in perceptions of police among diverse ethnic and racial minority groups in Canada and the US, but this variability has also been found within groups (Chu & Song, 2015; Grabb, Anderson, Hwang & Milligan, 2009). In other words, individuals of the same ethnic background have been found to report disparate opinions about the police, depending on their location (Chu & Song, 2015; Grabb et al., 2009). For instance, one study found that Chinese immigrants in Toronto were less likely to report police prejudice and more likely to express respect for the police than Chinese immigrants in New York (Chu & Song, 2015). Another study found that in a mixed sample of white and non-white Canadians, those living in English Canada expressed more favourability toward the police than those living in Quebec (Grabb et al., 2009).

In contrast to the overwhelming body of research that has suggested minorities in the US and Canada express more negative sentiments towards the police than whites, other studies have indicated that race and ethnicity play no role in determining perceptions of police (Chenane, Wu, & Song, 2017; Grabb et al., 2009; Sprott & Doob, 2008; Sprott & Doob, 2014). Furthermore,

some research has demonstrated that the relationship between race or ethnicity and attitudes toward the police is substantially mitigated after controlling for factors such as police contact, social class, satisfaction with safety, age, criminal victimization, gender, and neighbourhood perceptions (Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; O'Connor, 2008).

Unlike the aforementioned researchers who have examined the impact of citizen race and ethnicity on perceptions of police, Mann (1993) considered the effect of officer race on attitudes toward the police among American minority citizens. He proposed that officers of colour are more likely to develop rapport with minority communities than white officers (Mann, 1993). To date, limited studies have tested this proposition empirically. One study undertaken by Chandek (1999) failed to support Mann's (1993) hypothesis, revealing that there were no significant differences in reported levels of police satisfaction between victims served by officers of the same race and those assisted by officers of a different race.

In addition to race and ethnicity, scholars have sought to examine how sociodemographic factors such as gender, income, educational attainment, age, marital status, and length of stay in one's host country directly influence attitudes toward the police among ethnic minorities in Canada and the US (Cao, 2011; Chenane et al., 2017; Correia, 1996; Lai & Zhao, 2010; O'Connor, 2008; Rice & Piquero, 2005; Sprott & Doob 2008; Terrance et al., 2001, Weinrath et al., 2012). Findings, however, have varied. Most studies including ethnic and racial minority participants have found that those who are female, more educated, and married are more likely to show greater confidence, trust, and satisfaction with police (Cao, 2011; Chenane et al., 2017; Lai & Zhao, 2010; O'Connor, 2008; Rice & Piquero, 2005; Sprott, 2009; Terrance et al., 2001, Weinrath et al., 2012).

Few studies have generated opposite findings, revealing that ethnic and racial minorities who are male, less educated, and unmarried report the highest probabilities of positive perceptions of police (Correia, 1996; Cao, 2011; Weinrath et al., 2012). Some researchers have even proposed that educational background may be a stronger predictor of citizen attitudes towards police than length of study (Sethuraju, Sole, & Oliver, 2017). For instance, Sethuraju and colleagues (2017) found that among American university students of various ethnicities, criminal justice majors reported significantly lower perceptions of police misconduct than non-criminal justice majors. In light of these findings, Sethuraju and colleagues (2017) concluded that students specializing in non-criminal justice disciplines may be more likely to view sensationalized and unconventional stories of police misconduct portrayed through mass media as representative of all police officers. Though this proposition has been supported by other researchers (Tsoudis, 2000), limited empirical studies have further assessed the impact of academic major on student perceptions of police (Sethuraju et al., 2017).

In contrast to the abovementioned findings, other studies have indicated that gender, marital status, and educational attainment are insignificant predictors of police evaluations (Cao, 2011; Mbuba, 2010; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Similarly, research examining the nexus between length of stay in the US or Canada, and evaluations of police among ethnic minorities has also produced mixed results (Chow, 2002; Chu & Song, 2015; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). While some studies have found a negative association between length of stay in one's host country and perceptions of police (Chow, 2002; Chu & Song, 2015), others have revealed a curvilinear relationship (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011).

Socioeconomic status and age have yielded more consistent results as predictors of police assessments, with most studies revealing positive associations (Cao, 2011; Cheng, 2015;

Weinrath et al., 2012; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). That is, it has consistently been found that ethnic and racial minorities who are older and report a higher socioeconomic status are more likely to believe police are approachable, unbiased, and effective in ensuring citizen safety (Cao, 2011; Cheng, 2015; Weinrath et al., 2012; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011).

In addition to sociodemographic determinants, perceptions of community safety, crime rate, and disorganization have also been investigated as indicators of police evaluations among ethnic and racial minority groups in Canada and the US (Cao; 2011; Cheng, 2015; Priest & Carter, 2009). Findings have generally suggested that those who believe their neighbourhoods are dangerous, disorganized, and crime-ridden report lower levels of confidence and satisfaction with police (Cao 2011; Cheng, 2015; Priest & Carter, 2009).

Compared to community-based characteristics, individual factors, namely victimization and direct police contact, have garnered more attention with regards to their influence on minority perceptions of police (Alberton, 2018; Cao, 2011; Chenane et al., 2017; Lai & Zhao, 2010; Mbuba, 2010; Novich & Hunt, 2016; Peirone et al., 2017). In reference to victimization, US and Canadian-based studies have persistently shown that ethnic minorities who have been criminally victimized are less likely to report positive evaluations (Cao, 2011; Lai & Zhao, 2010).

Analyses on the relationship between prior police contact and attitudes toward the police have typically generated comparable findings, with the majority of studies showing a negative association (Cao, 2011; Novich & Hunt, 2016; Peirone et al., 2017). For example, Novich and Hunt (2016) found that Latino, African, Asian, and Pacific Islander youth who regularly encountered physical and verbal abuse at the hands of police in the US reported negative evaluations, distrust, and fear of police. Similarly, Peirone et al. (2017) discovered that among

African, Caribbean, and Black Canadian youth, those who were more likely to have been stopped and questioned by police reported greater perceptions of police discrimination than those with no history of police contact.

Further, some researchers have maintained that the correlation between negative minority contacts with police and poor police evaluations holds true, regardless of one's racial or educational background (Alberton, 2018; Mbuba, 2010). In particular, one meta-analysis conducted by Alberton (2018) revealed that the effect of prior police contact on police evaluations among ethnic minorities in Canada was approximately three times stronger than race. Furthermore, Mbuba (2010) found that American racial minorities who experienced negative interactions with police generally expressed unfavourable attitudes towards them, even if they reported higher educational attainments.

In stark contrast to the aforementioned findings, other studies have failed to find a significant relationship between prior police contact and minority perceptions of police (Chenane et al., 2017). In fact, some researchers have proposed that minority attitudes toward police may be more strongly influenced by vicarious experiences than by direct personal contact (Klein, Webb, & Disanto, 1978). Few Canadian-based studies have confirmed a link between vicarious police contact and police assessments among minorities (Peirone et al., 2017; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). For instance, in a Canadian sample including Chinese and Black participants, those who reported having family or friends who had been victims of racial profiling reported low ratings of police (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Similarly, Peirone et al. (2017) found that African, Caribbean, and Black Canadian youth who knew of someone who had been questioned by police perceived greater levels of police discrimination, as compared to those who reported zero vicarious contacts. Though a link between vicarious experiences with police and

minority perceptions of police has been evidenced by a few studies, others have failed to support this relationship (Chenane et al., 2017).

b) Eliciting Police Cooperation from Ethnic and Racial Minorities in the West

Evidently, there exists an abundance of information on the determinants of police evaluations among ethnic and racial minority groups in Canada and the US (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cheng, 2015; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Priest & Carter, 2009; Sprott & Doob, 2014; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). However, research on how such perceptions of the police may impact minorities' willingness to cooperate with law enforcement is scarce, particularly within the Canadian context. Most of the existing data on the sociodemographic and perceptual predictors of community-police cooperation in developed nations has been derived from Australian, British, and American-based studies (Hamm, Trinker, & Carr, 2017; Hinds, 2009; Kruger, Koster, Nedelec, & Murphy, 2017; Murphy & Cherney, 2011; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Murphy, Sargeant, & Cherney, 2015; Nuno, 2018; Sargeant & Kochel, 2016; Sargeant, Murphy, & Cherney, 2014; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Viki, Culmer, Eller, & Abrams, 2006). Of these studies, only a few have suggested that race and ethnicity are not significantly related to cooperative intentions with police (Nuno et al., 2018; Hamm et al., 2017). A more substantial amount of research has demonstrated that a history of police discrimination and brutality against minorities in the US and abroad has led to a lack of trust and an undesirability to cooperate with police among targeted groups (Murphy & Cherney, 2011; Lee et al., 2010; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011).

Given that some research has ascertained the role of sociodemographic characteristics as predictors of police evaluations among minority groups in Canada and the US (Cao, 2011; Lai & Zhao, 2010), several American, Australian, and British researchers have sought to examine their

effect on cooperation (Sargeant et al., 2014; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Murphy et al. 2015; Kruger et al., 2017; Nuno, 2018; Viki et al., 2006). Not surprisingly, extant research has shown that some sociodemographic characteristics associated with positive evaluations of the police are also correlated with a greater willingness to engage with police in crime control activities (Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Murphy et al. 2015; Kruger et al., 2017; Nuno, 2018; Sargeant et al., 2014). For example, American and Australian studies with ethnically diverse samples have revealed that those who are older, female, more educated, and of a higher socioeconomic status are more willing to assist police by reporting crime and providing crime-related information (Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Murphy et al. 2015; Kruger et al., 2017; Nuno, 2018; Sargeant et al., 2014). International studies have also suggested that police contact may affect cooperative intentions among ethnic minority groups (Sargeant et al., 2014; Viki et al., 2006). For example, Sargeant et al. (2014) found that prior contact with police was positively correlated with cooperative intentions among Vietnamese and Indian Australians. These same findings were corroborated in a sample of Black minority groups living in London (Viki et al., 2006).

In addition to sociodemographic and police contact variables, researchers have examined how instrumental, legitimacy, procedural justice, and expressive factors may influence compliance and cooperation with police (Bradford & Jackson, 2016; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Sargeant & Kochel, 2016; White, Mulvey, & Dario, 2015). According to the instrumental model, individuals are motivated to cooperate with police out of self-interest (Sargeant & Kochel, 2016). That is, citizens will be apt to cooperate if they believe police can protect them personally against criminal victimization (Sargeant & Kochel, 2016). In keeping with this proposition, researchers have frequently sought to test the instrumental perspective by measuring citizen perceptions of police effectiveness. Though the instrumental view has not been subjected to

rigorous testing among ethnic minority groups, existing studies have lent it some support (Bradford & Jackson, 2016; Lai & Zhao, 2010; Murphy et al., 2015; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). American, British, and Australian-based studies with ethnically diverse participants have shown that when citizens are more likely to believe police effectively punish, solve, and prevent crime, they report more positive views of the police, and are more willing to cooperate with them (Bradford & Jackson, 2016; Lai & Zhao, 2010; Murphy et al., 2015; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

On the other hand, the legitimacy model suggests that people's beliefs in the normative value and legitimacy of justice institutions drive their motivations to cooperate with police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In other words, citizens obey authorities because they respect, accept, and believe in their rightful power to enforce the law (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). Prior studies have aimed to measure perceived legitimacy of justice institutions by observing three key indicators: the perceived obligation to follow police directives, the perceived duty to adhere to the law, and self-reported trust and confidence in the police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Empirical studies in the US and Australia have generally shown support for the legitimacy view, revealing that regardless of ethnicity, citizens are more willing to cooperate with police when they view them, and the laws in which they enforce, as legitimate (Murphy, Hinds, & Fleming, 2008; Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; White et al., 2015).

The third most commonly studied predictor of citizen cooperation with police is procedural justice (Sargeant & Kochel, 2016). Research has consistently shown that individuals who are more likely to believe police exercise procedurally unfair treatment, such as racial profiling, are less likely to report positive evaluations of and cooperative intentions with police (Kahn, Lee, Renauer, Henning, & Stewart, 2017; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004; White et al., 2015). While some studies have found a direct relationship between

procedural justice and cooperative intentions with police among majority and minority ethnic groups (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004), others have suggested that this relationship is mediated by legitimacy perceptions of police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002). For example, in a New York sample predominantly comprised of Hispanic and African Americans, those who were more likely to believe police exercised fair decision-making and just treatment were more likely to feel they had an obligation to follow police directives (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). They were also more likely to report trust and confidence in the police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). These perceptions of police legitimacy were linked with a greater willingness to report crime and assist police in finding criminals (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In another sample of minorities living in California, respondents who felt more strongly that judges and police officers were fair in their procedures were more likely to believe that justice was legitimately served (Tyler & Huo, 2002). As a result, they also reported a greater desire to comply with authorities (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Though Tyler and colleagues' (2002, 2008) studies revealed that procedural justice indirectly influenced cooperative intentions with police by increasing legitimacy perceptions, other researchers have yielded divergent findings (Lee et al., 2010). For instance, Lee et al. (2010) found that African American youth still believed in the legitimacy of police and the laws they enforced, despite holding perceptions of police discrimination. Moreover, some researchers have proposed that the relationship between procedural justice and police cooperation is moderated, rather than mediated, by legitimacy perceptions (Cherney & Murphy, 2011; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Murphy et al., 2009). Studies that have examined this dynamic, however, have produced contradictory findings (Cherney & Murphy, 2011; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Murphy et al., 2009). While some studies have discovered that procedural justice increases propensities to

cooperate with police among those who question the legitimacy of the law (Murphy et al., 2009), others have indicated that it has a counterproductive effect (Cherney & Murphy, 2011; Murphy & Cherney, 2012;). For instance, Cherney and Murphy (2011) found that for Australian minorities who doubted the legitimacy of the law, increased police contact resulted in a reduced willingness to cooperate with police, regardless of the fairness of their encounters. They attributed these findings to high levels of distrust and suspicion toward police, proposedly accounted for by a history of discriminatory policing against minorities (Cherney & Murphy, 2011).

In addition to this, evidence has shown that social identity factors also mediate the association between procedural justice and cooperative intentions among minorities (Bradford, 2012). For example, Bradford (2014) found that for young ethnic minority men who identified strongly with a nation-state outside of the UK, procedural justice was strongly related to perceptions of social identity. More specifically, participants who felt London police treated their communities unfairly were less likely to report a sense of belonging to British society (Bradford, 2014). As a result, they were less likely to assist police by reporting crimes, providing statements, and identifying suspects (Bradford, 2014).

The fourth and final model conceived of within prior research on citizen-police cooperation is the expressive model (Sargeant & Kochel, 2016). Supporters of the expressive model assert that people's motivations to cooperate with police are determined by their trust in their neighbourhoods and perceptions of social cohesion (Sargeant & Kochel, 2016). This model has partially been built on psychological literature demonstrating a link between people's desire to cooperate with members of their community, in general, to their sense of communal connection (Tyler & Blader, 2001). More specifically, Tyler and Blader (2001) have proposed

that people are more likely to voluntarily cooperate with the groups to which they belong, if they identify with those groups. In accordance with this conception, adherents of the expressive view maintain that police are considered symbolic representations of their communities (Sargeant & Kochel, 2016). Thus, when individuals hold positive perceptions about their neighbourhood, this enhances their judgments about police, and subsequently, their cooperative intentions (Sargeant & Kochel, 2016).

Though the expressive model has seldom been investigated among ethnic minority populations, some research has supported the idea that sociopsychological conditions of minorities, including sense of belonging, neighbourhood trust, and social cohesion, are positively related to cooperative intentions (Bradford & Jackson, 2016; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). For example, Bradford and Jackson (2016) examined how intentions to assist police were influenced by one's perceived relationships with members of their community in an ethnically diverse sample from London. Their results revealed that there was a stronger inclination to cooperate with police among participants who reported higher levels of collective efficacy (Bradford & Jackson, 2016). In other words, those who believed people in their neighbourhood were trustworthy, courteous to each other, and willing to help members of their community if they were in trouble, expressed greater intentions of cooperating with police (Bradford & Jackson, 2016). Similarly, Tyler and Fagan (2008) found that in a sample predominantly comprised of Hispanic and African New Yorkers, those who expressed greater pride in their neighbourhood, and felt its residents shared mutual respect, were more willing to help police fight crime by engaging in community efforts.

While procedural justice, legitimacy, expressive, and instrumental factors of community-police cooperation have evidently garnered empirical support, research from Britain, Australia,

and the US has indicated that some factors are more influential in terms of eliciting cooperation from ethnic minorities than others (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Murphy et al., 2015; Sargeant et al., 2014). However, there have been some controversies surrounding which factors most strongly predict cooperative behaviour (Murphy et al., 2015; Sargeant et al., 2014; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). For instance, while some researchers have found procedural justice to serve a stronger role in predicting cooperation with police than police effectiveness (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Sargeant et al., 2014), others have found the reverse (Murphy et al., 2015). Some scholars have explained this inconsistency by referencing cultural differences in expectations of police and diverse policing experiences by different ethnic groups (Cherney & Murphy, 2011).

c) Muslims' Perceptions of and Cooperative Intentions with Law Enforcement

As demonstrated above, various factors have been shown to influence ethnic minorities' perceptions and intentions of working with police in North America and abroad (Kahn et al., 2017; Murphy & Cherney, 2011; Viki et al., 2006). However, limited studies have assessed how Muslim North Americans may perceive law enforcement authorities, and how such perceptions may impact their willingness to engage in anticrime operations (Gaskew, 2009; Jamil & Rousseau, 2012; Sun & Wu, 2011; Yousif, 2005). Though some research has found a high degree of confidence in police among Arab Americans after 9/11 (Sun & Wu, 2011), more studies have suggested that the stigmatization and labelling of Muslim Americans and Canadians as a suspect community in the current war on terror context have cultivated feelings of fear and distrust of law enforcement authorities (Gaskew, 2009; Jamil & Rousseau, 2012; Yousif, 2005). In one notable study conducted by Gaskew (2009), Muslim Americans expressed various concerns regarding their relationship with law enforcement agencies after 9/11. Specifically, participants communicated a need for law enforcement authorities to: (a) become well-

acquainted with Islam's basic tenets and the religion's diverse cultural following, (b) engage in open and active dialogue with Muslim individuals, and (c) maintain mutual respect, participation, and justice within their communities (Gaskew, 2009). In addition to this, Muslim Americans and Canadians have also expressed concerns regarding the discriminate enforcement of counterterrorism procedures against their communities after 9/11 (National Council of Canadian Muslims, 2015).

Though little research on Muslims' perceptions and cooperative intentions with legal authorities has been carried out within a Canadian context, few studies on policing cooperation among Muslim communities have been conducted in Britain, Australia, and the US (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Cherney & Murphy, 2017; Murphy, Madon, & Cherney, 2017; Huq et al., 2011; Tyler, Schulhofer, & Huq, 2010). These studies have tended to focus on predicting general crime control and anti-terror policing cooperation, specifically (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Cherney & Murphy, 2017; Murphy, Madon, & Cherney, 2017; Huq et al., 2011; Tyler, Schulhofer, & Huq, 2010). Results have revealed that, in line with much of the previous literature on ethnic minority groups in general, several sociodemographic, instrumental, procedural justice, legitimacy, and expressive factors predict cooperative intentions among British, American, and Australian Muslims (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Cherney & Murphy, 2017; Murphy et al., 2017; Huq et al., 2011; Tyler, Schulhofer, & Huq, 2010).

In regards to sociodemographic characteristics, studies have, again, generated inconsistent findings (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Cherney & Murphy, 2017; Huq et al., 2011; Murphy et al., 2017; Tyler et al., 2010). For instance, some research has revealed that Muslims who are men, native-born, unmarried and have had more contact with the police are less likely to report terror-risks and work with police in counterterror efforts (Murphy et al., 2017; Cherney &

Murphy; 2017). Others have suggested that sociodemographic factors, such as gender, income, education, age, and religiosity are insignificant determinants of general crime control and antiterror cooperative intentions among Muslim individuals (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Huq et al., 2011; Tyler et al., 2010).

Also in corroboration with the general research on minority-police cooperation, procedural justice has been found to serve an important role in predicting cooperation with police for Muslim Westerners (Murphy et al., 2017; Tyler et al. 2010; Huq et al., 2011). Specifically, studies have indicated that the implementation of aggressive national security provisions that unfairly target Muslim individuals increases their hesitancy to work with police against terrorism (Murphy et al., 2017; Tyler et al., 2010; Huq et al., 2011). For instance, Tyler et al. (2010) found a positive relationship between procedural justice and cooperation in antiterror policing among Muslim Americans. Specifically, participants who had lower perceptions of the fairness of counterterrorism policy implementation reported a reduced willingness to cooperate with police (Tyler et al., 2010). Participants who felt that Muslims had limited opportunities to participate in the formation of anti-terrorism policies were also less willing to cooperate with and alert police of terror-risks (Tyler et al., 2010).

The findings from Tyler et al.'s (2010) American study were later replicated in a Muslim British sample (Huq et al., 2011), which also found a connection between procedural justice (i.e. perceived fairness of policing strategies) and willingness to work with police against terrorism. In Huq and colleagues' study (2011), it was also revealed that procedural justice had the strongest predictive influence on antiterror cooperation, when compared to judgments about police efficacy and perceptions of the degree of terrorism threat. A third study undertaken by Murphy et al. (2017) found that for Muslim Australians who questioned the legitimacy of

counterterrorism laws, greater perceptions of procedural justice increased their intentions of terror-threat reporting (Murphy et al., 2017). In their research, Murphy et al. (2017) based procedural justice policing on elements of trust, respect, voice, and neutrality.

Cherney and Murphy's (2013) analysis took the aforementioned scholarship on procedural justice and counterterrorism cooperation one step further by examining its potential mediating factors. Their findings revealed that procedural justice no longer predicted counterterrorism cooperation after police legitimacy was taken into account in a sample of Arab Australians (Cherney & Murphy, 2013). Specifically, higher levels of trust and confidence in the police (i.e. police legitimacy) were associated with a stronger willingness to cooperate in counterterrorism operations (Cherney & Murphy, 2013). Their research also found that while police legitimacy emerged as a significant predictor of cooperation in antiterrorism policing, identity factors had the strongest predictive value (Cherney & Murphy, 2013). In particular, there was a much greater desire to participate in counterterrorism policing among Arabs who identified more strongly with the Australian community, as opposed to their own ethnic group (Cherney & Murphy, 2013). This finding also coincides with previous research that has examined the impact of social identity on cooperative intentions among other ethnic groups (Bradford & Jackson, 2016).

The final and perhaps one of the most interesting findings within the preceding literature on Muslim Westerners' willingness to cooperate with police has been noted in an aforementioned study by Tyler et al.'s (2010). Their research found that anti-terror cooperation was significantly lower among Muslim Americans who had a stronger belief that Muslims were subjected to societal discrimination (i.e. as distinct from police injustice) (Tyler et al., 2010). It is worth noting that various measures of societal discrimination were included in their study,

including discrimination in the media, workforce, at schools, and by the government (Tyler et al., 2010).

d) Limitations and Unique Contributions of the Present Study

Evidently, previous literature has provided strong insights regarding the perceptions of police held by ethnic and racial minorities in North America. In addition to this, scholarship in the US, Britain, and Australia has offered some understanding of the factors that may shape police cooperation among ethnic minorities, including those of Muslim identity (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Cherney & Murphy, 2017; Murphy, Madon, & Cherney, 2017; Huq et al., 2011; Tyler, Schulhofer, & Huq, 2010). Nonetheless, three key limitations should be noted across the abovementioned areas of research. First, the majority of research examining ethnic minority perceptions of police in North America has been conducted in the US, and, further, focuses predominantly on African-Americans (O'Connor, 2008). As well, most studies have omitted religion-based statistics. Literature surrounding Muslim Canadians' perceptions of law enforcement authorities, especially after 9/11, is scarce. Though some North American studies on citizen perceptions of police have included South Asian and Middle-Eastern participants (Cao, 2011; Sprott & Doob, 2014), these participants have often been grouped together with other ethnic groups, including Aboriginals, Africans, and Caucasians. Grouping together participants of various ethnicities allows for the unique perceptions of Muslim Middle-Easterners and South-Asians to potentially be ignored.

Second, the scant amount of research that has investigated Muslim North Americans' attitudes toward law authorities has focused on their perceptions of police (Sun & Wu, 2011). Given that Muslim Canadians may encounter discriminatory or negative treatment by other law

authorities, including border and airport officers, there is reason to expand beyond this area of inquiry.

Third, little is known about the willingness of Muslim Canadians to cooperate with law authorities in the enforcement of general crime control and anti-terror operations. This study aims to address the aforementioned limitations by examining perceptions of and cooperative intentions with law enforcement authorities in an ethnically diverse sample of Muslim Canadians.

III. Theoretical Framework

This thesis aims to offer an understanding of citizen attitudes and behaviours toward law authorities by combining theoretical elements from psychological research on human behaviour and procedural justice scholarship. Originating from Thibaut and Walker's (1975) work on third-party disputes, the concept of procedural justice has recently been used by criminal justice researchers to explain citizen assessments and intentions of cooperating with police (Hamm et al., 2017; Kahn et al., 2017; Murphy et al., 2008; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004; White et al., 2015). From a criminological perspective, procedural justice concerns the quality of treatment and decision-making legal authorities exercise during their interactions with civilians (Tyler, 2003). On this basis, procedural justice theory posits that positive judgments about the fairness of policing procedures are more likely to encourage favourable evaluations and cooperative behaviours with law authorities than are negative judgments (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Inversely, when authorities employ policing practices that are unjust or biased, this will result in marginalization, rebellion, and noncompliance (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). A procedural justice framework therefore postulates that citizen opinions and behaviours towards law authorities are influenced by their subjective experiences with them, rather than the outcomes of their interactions (Watson & Angell, 2007). In other words, if individuals perceive the processes authorities use during an encounter as fair, they will be more likely to hold positive views towards them, regardless of any punitive outcomes (Watson & Angell, 2007).

According to procedural justice theorists, citizen assessments of the fairness of policing processes during personal encounters are based on four key elements. The first element concerns the quality of decision-making police exercise during their interactions with citizens. More specifically, Tyler (2003) asserts that citizens are more likely to view authorities as fair when the

decisions they make are seen as neutral (Tyler, 2003). Neutral decisions are objective, evidence-based, and consistent with the law (Skogan, Van Craen, & Hennessy, 2014). They are also applied equally across both individuals and time (Skogan et al., 2014). The second component of procedural justice relates to police quality of treatment towards citizens (Tyler, 2003). This principle suggests that individuals are less likely to infer negative judgments about police fairness when police treat them with respect and dignity, and acknowledge their legal rights (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Third, police demonstrate procedural justice when they convey that they are worthy of trust (Murphy et al., 2017). Specifically, when officers demonstrate that they are acting with sincere intentions of securing the welfare of their clientele, this communicates trustworthiness (Murphy et al., 2017). The fourth and final element of procedural justice is voice. Also referred to as “participation,” voice involves offering all parties of a criminal event the opportunity to share their perspectives before any decisions are made (Skogan et al., 2014).

An absence or inadequacy in one or more of these four elements during a citizen encounter with law authorities is thought to create an impression of procedural injustice (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Recent scholars have extended beyond this hypothesis by suggesting that in addition to personal interactions, citizen perceptions of police fairness may be informed by vicarious experiences (Mondak, Hurwitz, Peffley, & Testa, 2017). Whether shaped by direct or indirect encounters with authorities, scholars maintain that when authorities fail to apply the four aspects of procedural justice (i.e. neutrality, respect, trustworthiness, and voice), this may lead to uncooperative behaviours (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Adherents of the procedural justice model have sought to explain the causal link between perceived subjection to unfair policing processes, and weak evaluations and cooperative intentions with law authorities through three main perspectives. The first explanation links

procedural justice with legitimacy views of criminal justice institutions (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Specifically, theorists have suggested that unjust procedural treatment of citizens by authorities minimizes their perceived obligation to obey the law and its enforcers (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). As a result, when civilians do not respect or believe in the authority of criminal justice actors (i.e. illegitimacy), they will be less inclined to cooperate with them (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

The second rationale used to explain why procedural injustice may lead to uncooperative behaviour with law authorities focuses on social identity and sense of belonging (Bradford, 2014). Two key ideas guide this perspective: people value group membership, and law authorities are viewed as important representatives of people's social groups (Bradford, 2014). In keeping with these views, proponents of the procedural justice model assume that when authorities treat people with fairness, they will feel a greater sense of social inclusion and willingness to assist police (Bradford, 2014). Conversely, negative police behaviour towards individuals, particularly those who already exhibit a separatist identity from their host culture, may cause feelings of exclusion and defiant attitudes towards authorities (Bradford, 2014).

The third explanation assumes that: (a) people are less likely to cooperate with authorities when they view them as distrustful, and (b) procedural justice is a key antecedent of trust (Sargeant et al., 2014). It is important to note that procedural justice and trust are interdependent (Tyler, 2003). That is, while citizens are more likely to view procedures exercised by authorities they trust as fair, they are also more likely to perceive authorities as trustworthy if they believe the decisions they make and their treatment towards citizens are just (Tyler, 2003).

Thus, procedural justice scholarship challenges the use of aggressive policing tactics that may be viewed as unfair (Gau & Brunson, 2010). This includes rights-intrusive counterterrorism

measures and policies, such as those employed in Canada's Antiterrorism Act of 2015. Given that some Islamic groups in Canada have expressed concerns about the disproportional enforcement of antiterror measures against their communities (National Council of Canadian Muslims, 2015), a procedural justice framework may be of significant value when trying to understand the perceptions and behaviours Muslim Canadians hold towards law authorities in the post-9/11 context.

This research therefore sought to assess the validity of procedural justice theory as it applied to ten Muslim Canadian emerging adults. That is, it sought to examine whether low perceptions in the fairness of policing procedures against Muslim citizens (i.e. procedural injustice), would precipitate weak cooperative intentions with law authorities. Whether informed by direct or vicarious experiences, all participants in this study expressed concerns that authorities may exercise inconsistent, biased, or disrespectful treatment towards Muslims or racial minorities. In other words, all participants communicated perceptions of procedural injustice. Figure 1 displays general pathways between perceptions of procedural injustice and cooperative intentions in general and anti-terror crime control efforts among participants in this study.

As can be seen in Figure 1, distrust in authorities did serve as a key antecedent of uncooperative intentions with authorities among some participants, therefore coinciding with preliminary literature on procedural justice and citizen-police cooperation (Sargeant et al., 2014). However, this study's findings only lent partial support to a procedural justice framework, as some participants still reported intentions of cooperating with authorities, despite their acknowledgments of biased policing by enforcement officers. Thus, though previous and current empirical research supports that procedural injustice may precipitate distrust in law authorities,

which may then minimize cooperative intentions with police, it is important to consider that not all individuals who view authorities as discriminatory or unfair will report uncooperative intentions. As Brown and Benedict (2002) note, theoretical assumptions about citizen perceptions and attitudes towards police cannot account for all cases and therefore should not be generalized. This study therefore seeks to advance the theoretical scholarship on procedural justice by identifying various moderating factors that may weaken the relationship between citizen perceptions of procedural injustice and uncooperative intentions. More specifically, it is suggested that three key factors may enhance cooperative intentions with authorities among individuals who possess perceptions of procedural injustice (see Figure 1). These include: (a) a sense of moral obligation to denounce harmful criminal behaviour, (b) instrumental benefits or personal utility from cooperation, and (c) positive coping responses to discrimination. Drawing from psychological and criminological literature, the following section describes each of these moderating factors in detail and provides theoretical bases for their control effects.

The first moderating factor between the procedural injustice-uncooperative link relates to personal morality. Researchers have proposed that civilians are more likely to comply with the law when they believe it corresponds with their moral principles (Van Damme & Pauwels, 2016). Thus, when individuals agree that the behaviours police seek to counteract are morally unjustifiable, they will be more willing to cooperate with them (Hough et al., 2015; Van Damme & Pauwels, 2016). Their cooperative intentions are therefore not motivated by any external benefits or circumstances, but rather by intrinsic values of “right” and “wrong” (Van Damme & Pauwels, 2016). In keeping with this perspective, individuals who believe police engage in discriminatory tactics may still choose to engage with them in anti-crime endeavors, so long as they believe in and prioritize moral values of upholding social order and community safety.

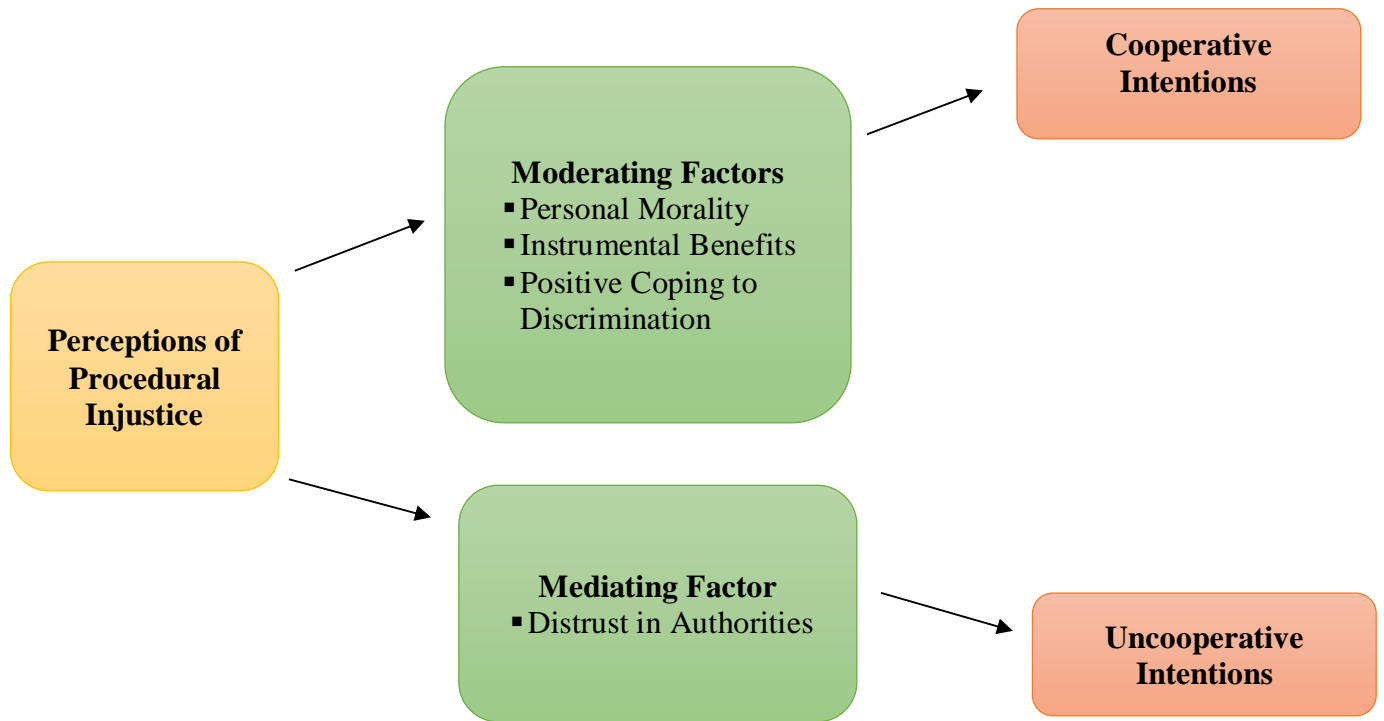
Contrastingly, a second explanation for why individuals who view authorities as unfair may still cooperate with them can be found in the instrumental approach. Drawing from rational choice perspectives on human behaviour, this view suggests that citizens engage in cost-benefits analyses before deciding whether to cooperate with police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). As such, if individuals believe assisting the police will be a minor inconvenience or result in negative outcomes, they will be less inclined to do so (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). On the other hand, when people believe cooperating with police will lead to personal utility, this promotes cooperative intentions (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In accordance with the instrumental model, I propose that individuals who generally perceive some authorities as being unfair, biased, or discriminatory in their policing procedures (i.e. procedural injustice) may engage in a process of rational reasoning. During this process, these individuals calculate the risk of personally being subjected to unfair treatment during a possible future encounter with an authority. More specifically, if individuals believe that cooperative behaviours, such as reporting crimes, are more likely to result in instrumental benefits, such as protecting one's self from future criminal victimization, than personal discrimination or unfair treatment, they will be more willing to cooperate. Thus, individuals can simultaneously recognize that authorities may employ unfair policing procedures against others, while also believing that they will not necessarily be targets themselves.

The final moderating factor that I suggest may minimize the negative effects of procedural injustice on citizens' cooperative willingness with authorities is positive coping to discrimination. In general, positive or effective coping skills are strategies that help reduce psychological distress caused by stressful life events (Snyder, 1999), such as direct or vicarious discrimination by authorities. Lee et al. (2010) suggest that when individuals are able to process emotional and cognitive assessments of police independently, they may be more inclined to view

them as legitimate, irrespective of their discriminatory behaviours. It is therefore possible that by exhibiting coping styles that help alleviate negative emotional responses to discrimination, individuals who perceive police as discriminatory may still be able to create objective assessments about them (Lee et al., 2010). In other words, they may develop high levels of prosocial and emotional maturity (i.e. the ability to manage one's emotions in aversive situations, such as when dealing with others) (Malkappagol, 2018). As a result, they may still be able to recognize that the criminal justice system is a necessary institution to uphold social and moral order, regardless of whether some of its actors employ discriminatory practices (Lee et al., 2010). Such legitimacy perceptions could, in turn, increase cooperative intentions. In brief, coping styles that successfully reduce negative emotional outcomes of discrimination may encourage objective assessments of authorities, which may then promote legitimacy perceptions and cooperative intentions towards them.

Drawing from the findings of the present study and previous theoretical assumptions on human behaviour and police cooperation, it is therefore suggested that the relationship between procedural injustice and uncooperative behaviour towards authorities may be mitigated when various psychological factors are taken into consideration. By integrating the effects of the three moderating factors mentioned above, this thesis offers unique theoretical understandings of procedural justice and citizen-police cooperation.

Figure 1: Pathways Between Perceptions of Procedural Injustice and Cooperative Intentions with Law Authorities reported by ten Muslim Canadians



Note. Personal Morality: A self-perceived moral obligation to denounce harmful criminal behaviour; Instrumental Benefits = Personal utility from cooperation; Positive Coping to Discrimination = Conscious cognitive or behavioural efforts that successfully reduce discrimination-related psychological distress; Distrust in Authorities = Believing that authorities do not have the best interests of their clientele at heart

IV. Methods

Data Collection and Rationale

Statistical analyses thus far have revealed that factors such as procedural justice and police legitimacy, to name a few, may predict cooperation with police among Muslims internationally (Cherney & Murphy, 2013; Murphy et al., 2017). Why these factors, among others, may serve an influential role in predicting cooperation, however, has not explicitly been captured through the statistical data offered to date. Unlike previous researchers who have employed quantitative analyses, this study utilized a qualitative methodology to allow for the thorough understanding of the beliefs, feelings, and motivations that guided Muslim Canadians' perceptions of and cooperative intentions with law authorities.

Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted to provide depth, richness, and complexity to the research objectives under study (Fischer, 2006). The open-ended format of semi-structured interviewing enabled participants to provide spontaneous and authentic answers (Ryan, Coughlan, & Cronin, 2009). This also allowed me to ask probing questions when necessary. Data collection was complete after ten interviews, at which point, emergent themes became recurrent and saturation was reached.

Participants and Sampling Technique

Ethics approval was granted prior to the commencement of the recruitment process. Muslim students from a Canadian University in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) were invited to participate in this study. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 25 and were of Pakistani, Somali, Afghan, Jordanian, and Indian descent. A sample of emerging adult university students was selected for a few reasons. First, Moosa-Mitha (2009) notes that although Muslims are generally subjected to pervasive scrutiny in the post 9/11 climate, young people are viewed with even

greater suspicion “due to their supposedly natural inclination to irrationality” (p. 136). Often perceived as victims of social alienation and psychological vulnerabilities, Muslim youth and emerging adults in Western societies are deemed susceptible to radicalization and homegrown terrorism, and thus constructed as a suspect community (Coppock & McGovern, 2014). This stereotyping of young Muslim populations renders them suitable targets for state surveillance and scrutiny (Coppock & McGovern, 2014). It is therefore imperative that experiences with and attitudes towards law enforcement officers are particularly understood among Muslims of younger age groups.

Second, it is important to consider the perceptions Muslim criminal justice majors hold towards authorities, as many of them may be interested in pursuing a career in law enforcement (Sethuraju et al., 2017). Highlighting these students’ opinions about police conduct and practices may help policy-makers and police administrators enhance diversity recruitment strategies. Nevertheless, it was still important to include non-criminology majors in my research, as Sethuraju and colleagues (2017) stress that professors who teach classes in policing and crime may be interested in understanding student perceptions of police and how they might vary by academic discipline. By including students of various disciplines, this study therefore contributes to the existing literature on educational attainment and citizen attitudes towards police.

Participants were recruited through purposeful and snowball sampling techniques. Purposeful sampling involves the recruitment of individuals who are experienced with or cognizant of a particular phenomenon (Cresswell & Plano-Clark, 2011). This technique was chosen to illuminate the perceptions and implications of the behaviours exhibited by law authorities through the first-hand accounts and lived experiences of Muslim Canadians. Snowball sampling is a technique that allows existing research participants to refer acquaintances as future

research subjects (Given, 2008). Though most participants were not recruited using a snowball sampling technique, a few participants voluntarily suggested their friends for the study.

Research Instrument and Procedures

Interview questions addressed a variety of topics pertinent to the abovementioned research objectives (see Appendix A). In particular, participants were asked to share their sociodemographic characteristics, perceptions of and encounters with law authorities, the emotional and cognitive effects of such encounters, and their willingness to cooperate with law authorities against crime. Additional factors that have previously been linked to cooperation with police among Muslims internationally were incorporated in the interview guide, including perceptions of societal discrimination and sense of belonging in Canadian society (Bradford, 2014; Cherney & Murphy, 2016). Interviews ranged in length from forty minutes to two hours. All interview audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim.

A brief description of the present study's purpose alongside a request to participate was shared with students through posters distributed on campus and online correspondence via the Blackboard system. A recruitment poster was also advertised online in an Arab Student Association (ASA) Facebook page. Students interested in the study emailed the research team to arrange suitable interview times. Students were asked to confirm that they met the inclusion criteria via email prior to the arrangement of meeting times. All interviews were conducted in an enclosed space on campus to protect the privacy of participants.

Participants were asked to review and sign a consent form before beginning their interviews (see Appendix B). The consent form also requested that participants' quotes be shared, anonymously, in my writing and during my defense. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the interview at any point and were rewarded an honorarium of ten

dollars each in exchange for their time. Participants were also granted a thank you letter upon completion of their interviews. All transcript and audio files were protected with an encrypted digital file located on one of my secured personal laptops. To uphold confidentiality and anonymity, each participant was given a pseudonym. Only members of the research team and dissertation committee had access to the interview data. The audio-recording device used and the hardcopies of the transcript data were stored in a locked cabinet in my home.

Data Analysis

An inductive thematic analysis was manually employed to address the aforementioned research questions. Conceptual commonalities (i.e. data codes) were grouped together to form overarching themes about participants' perceptions toward law enforcement and the factors that drove their motivations to cooperate with authorities. By using an inductive approach, this allowed me to generate various meanings from my data from an unbiased stance (Clarke & Braun, 2017). Each audio-recording was played several times to ensure the accuracy of transcript data before the commencement of the coding process.

Insider versus Outsider Status and Personal Biases

It is worth noting that due to my identity as an Arab Muslim woman, my research was susceptible to insider researcher bias. Insider research projects are led by researchers who are directly involved with or connected to their research subjects (Robson, 2002). One way in which researchers may be defined as insiders is by sharing various characteristics with their subject population, such as cultural, biological, or occupational features (Loxley & Seery, 2008). My participants and I shared various commonalities aside from religious affiliation, including educational and ethnic background. In some ways, I felt that my research benefited from my insider status. My identity as a Muslim woman may have enhanced the comfortability and

willingness of my participants to share their perceptions, opinions, and experiences, without fear of stereotyping or judgement. At times, participants shared Quranic proverbs when discussing their reactive behaviours to societal discrimination, experiences of racial profiling by law authorities, and opinions on terrorism. My familiarity with Islamic teachings and the Arabic language helped me understand such cultural and religious references.

Nonetheless, I still felt that because of my insider status, I needed to exercise extra precautions to uphold the validity and authenticity of my data. Both some of my participants and I are criminology majors; participants may have therefore felt an obligation to tailor their responses to their own criminological understandings of police cooperation. As an insider, I also felt I needed to separate my own knowledge, perceptions, and vicarious experiences with law authorities and issues related to Islamophobia, from those of my participants. To help ensure that impartiality and subjectivity were not compromised due to my insider status, I framed interview questions in such a way that did not impose my own perceptions and beliefs, nor suggest a particular answer.

V. Results

The following chapter summarizes the core themes and observations that emerged from the interview data in connection to the two research objectives under study. The first section of this chapter provides a detailed overview of participant demographics by pseudonym. The second section discusses the findings of the first research question: “What are Muslim Canadians’ perceptions, experiences, and attitudes toward law authorities?” The results of the interview analyses revealed four key themes connected to the first research question. In particular, participants reported: (a) a lack of confidence in law enforcement’s ability to combat crime, (b) beliefs in prejudiced and discriminatory attitudes exhibited by enforcement officers (c) positive sentiments towards law authorities, and (d) a desirability to strengthen police-community relations. The third section of this chapter presents the results of the second research question under investigation: “What are the driving factors that influence Muslim Canadians’ willingness to cooperate with authorities in general crime-control and anti-terror efforts?” Three themes that worked to enhance or reduce cooperative intentions were identified: (a) moral motivations (b) distrust of law authorities, and (c) instrumental/personal factors.

a) Respondent Characteristics

A total of ten Muslim Canadian university students from the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) were recruited for face-to-face interviews. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 25 years and represented various ethnicities. The sample was comprised of five Pakistani, two Indian, one Jordanian, one Somali, and one Afghan participant. Of these participants, six were female and four were male. Length of stay in Canada ranged from three to twenty-two years. Students from various disciplines, including, but not limited to criminology, were included in this sample. A

detailed overview of each participant's demographic characteristics by pseudonym is presented below.

Table 1: Sample Profile by Participant Demographics

Participant Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Length of Stay in Canada	Major
Fatima	Female	22	Afghan	Native-born	Legal Studies
Hanan	Female	19	Pakistani	Native-born	Forensic Psychology
Khadija	Female	22	Pakistani	Native-born	Criminology
Usama	Male	23	Indian	18 years	Criminology
Omar	Male	24	Indian	11 years	Electrical Engineering
Mohamed	Male	24	Jordanian	3 years	Nuclear Engineering
Abdul	Male	22	Pakistani	16 years	Criminology
Maleeka	Female	21	Somali	Native-born	Forensic Psychology
Nadia	Female	20	Pakistani	19 years	Forensic Psychology
Sabina	Female	25	Pakistani	20 years	Criminology

b) Participant Perceptions, Experiences, and Attitudes towards Law Authorities

The first objective of the present study was to investigate ten Muslim Canadians' experiences, perceptions, and attitudes towards law authorities. The interview analyses revealed a wide range of opinions and sentiments towards various authorities, including police, airport officers, national security investigators, and border patrol agents. Many of the perspectives and opinions shared were informed by vicarious experiences with law authorities. Overall, participants reported four main themes: (a) a lack of confidence, (b) perceived discrimination, (c) positivity, and (d) a demand for relation-building.

Lack of Confidence

This theme captured participants' confidence in the ability of Canadian law enforcement to effectively prevent and solve crime. To gauge participants' perceptions of enforcement efficacy, they were asked whether they had faith in the state's ability to protect its citizens against crime in general, and more specifically, against hate and terror-related offences. The majority of participants expressed dissatisfaction with state efforts to combat crime. Many reported that enforcement officers lacked adequate resources, training, and intentions to perform their job.

For Abdul, his distrust in law enforcement's ability to counteract crime was shaped by a past negative encounter with his local police force. Abdul claimed that after reporting a robbery at his workplace, police dedicated little effort into protecting his safety and maintaining regular follow-ups:

It's been more than two weeks now and we still haven't heard a word from [the police]. We haven't even gotten a, 'Are you guys okay? What did they steal?' None. Not a single word. Not a single contact.

Other participants felt that while enforcement officers may be equipped to effectively respond to crime, their ability to prevent criminal offences, particularly terrorism, is restricted. For instance, Usama acknowledged that while police may have the necessary resources and policies to counter domestic terrorism, they cannot always predict the onset of an attack, particularly when a lone actor is involved:

I think the police are adequately equipped, but the nature of terrorist attacks, especially the current trend of lone-wolf attacks, make me less confident in the police's ability to prevent terrorism in Canada.

Maleeka not only expressed doubts about enforcement officers' ability to combat terrorism, but she also felt that the discriminatory and aggressive tactics they employ against

Muslim individuals may cause them to harbour negative feelings toward law authorities, and subsequently serve a counterproductive effect. Her perspective coincided with the works of various terrorist analysts who have identified discrimination as a precursor to violent radicalization (Cronin, 2005; Horgan, 2008). Specifically, Maleeka suggested that the “*police itself can perpetuate terrorism.*” She explained:

They [the police] can unfairly target Muslim communities, which can result in individuals feeling resentful towards authorities, leading to radicalization.

Another common concern among participants related to the police’s ability to identify, prevent, and punish anti-Muslim hate incidents. In particular, six participants communicated low confidence in police efforts to combat anti-Muslim hate crime (i.e. Maleeka, Omar, Nadia, Hanan, Fatima, and Sabina). Most of these participants shared direct or indirect accounts of Islamophobic hate victimization and reported various reasons for their lack of confidence in police efforts to tackle hate crime.

For example, Fatima indicated that following an international terror attack, her father was told to “*go back to his country*” by his coworkers. Fearing that his daughter would encounter a similar experience, Fatima’s father requested that she stay home for a few days following the terror attack. In addition to this, he asked her to remove any religious identifiers if she was required to leave her home. In her interview, Fatima stated:

It got to the point where, I have a thing on my car with the Kaaba [a sacred mosque in Islam] on it...And my dad's like, yeah you need to take that off.

Fatima also reported feeling fearful for her safety after the 2017 Quebec mosque shooting. She stated that, following the tragic event, her family members avoided attending religious services at her local mosque:

I was in tears because I was terrified... I did see a video. And it showed the victims' faces and I heard their stories, or whatever. And I was just crying...I think, If I'm not mistaken, our mosque did close down. And, we didn't let my brother go.

While Fatima believed that anti-Muslim and xenophobic hate incidents were on the rise in Canada, she claimed that some officers may be dismissive of such incidents. Fatima added that for less serious acts of hate, such as verbal remarks, she would rather exercise her own protective coping mechanisms. For instance, instead of reporting police of an Islamophobic hate comment, Fatima indicated she would either confront the commenter with intentions of challenging his or her views or walk away to prevent further victimization.

Like Fatima's father, Sabina was also subjected to an Islamophobic hate comment by one of her former coworkers, who commented, "*Muhammad is a piece of s***. He's a s***. He goes effing all these girls.*" Sabina was particularly disturbed when she learned that both of his parents were law enforcement representatives:

The funny thing is he comes from a family background of law enforcement. So that kind of makes me laugh. His mom is an OPP officer. His dad is a fire chief. And, clearly, I'm not sure what's going on in his household, but if his parents are presenting themselves to the society, you shouldn't be talking like that. How are they supposed to represent, you know, a good police officer or fire chief to the community?

Similar to Fatima's view, Sabina expressed a concern that levels of anti-Muslim sentiment in Canada could potentially start to reach those in the US. For example, when asked to share her thoughts about the 2017 Quebec mosque shooting, Sabina stated:

It's a wake-up call to you, that this is what happens in the US all the time. It's so normal, it's a normal thing there. People that live there...it's so weird, cause my cousin was just like, 'Yeah that happens here all the time'...There were that small part [of people] where they probably [felt] that it's okay. 'It happened. Whoop-dee-doo. It happened.'

In addition to this, Sabina shared Poynting and Perry's (2007) view that state authorization of Islamophobic discriminatory policies and rhetoric may legitimize public prejudice towards Muslims. For example, Sabina asserted that President Trump's negative

remarks surrounding Muslims and racial minorities have emboldened anti-Muslim and racial hatred in Canada:

There are some Canadians here, I would say, who are racist, too. And...by seeing Trump out there in social media that would probably...provoke them more to behave that way...A part of them would be like, 'Okay I shouldn't be hating them, but when you see something like that from authority, you think...it's okay to do that...That's pretty much what he's doing. It's like, 'That's okay, it happens here. You guys can do that, too'.

Sabina not only claimed that there has been an increase in anti-Muslim animosity among the general Canadian public, but she also insinuated that negative sentiments towards Muslims may also be endorsed by enforcement officials. This belief in police hostility towards Muslims caused her to feel skeptical about enforcement capabilities of combating and preventing hate incidents. For example, when asked whether she was confident in the ability of authorities to protect her personally against hate-motivated acts, Sabina stated:

I would say...70% that...I'm confident...But, then there's that 30% margin where I don't know because, again, I am Muslim and I am from Pakistan. So, you know there could be that little doubt...And that officer or whoever I'm reporting to may actually be like, 'You know what, no, because she is Muslim. She is, you know, from that country.'

Maleeka not only expressed beliefs that Islamophobia is increasing, but she also indicated that hearing about anti-Muslim hate incidents from friends and acquaintances caused her to develop a sense of fear for her safety. Like Fatima and Sabina, Maleeka's concerns about anti-Muslim sentiment in Canada being on the rise were accompanied by doubts about the police's ability to effectively counteract and prevent public acts of hatred. In her interview, Maleeka shared a story in which, like Fatima's father, one of her friends was also told to "go back home" on her way to class. Maleeka claimed that the incident took place a few days after the 2015 Paris attacks. She described her reaction to the incident as follows:

I feel like...after that, I was kind of scared to leave my house...Hearing that happened to her, her feeling so helpless. And, like, scared, and being lonely. I felt really scared for her.

And I was also really scared like, oh my God...Do I have to come to campus? Will that person be there?

Echoing Sabina's opinions about Trump's indirect negative effect on Canadian attitudes towards racial minorities, including Muslims, Maleeka also stated the following:

I...feel like people here will be much more open with their like racism... And, I feel like that's already what's happening. Because there's already been, like, three pro-white rallies in [her local city hall]. Like, when have you ever seen that many rallies happening?

Further, Maleeka alleged that hate events, such as the incident encountered by her classmate and the pro-white rallies described above, would not likely be recorded as hate crimes by police officers:

I think they [the police] have a tendency of dismissing hate crimes and saying, 'we don't want to label it as a hate crime unless it's obvious'... I feel like there is a lot of loopholes.

Maleeka went on to state the following:

Something happened in Quebec, it was a hate crime, and...it took so long for them to even declare it.

Like Maleeka, Nadia also expressed a fear of Islamophobic hate victimization as a result of negative vicarious experiences. For example, Nadia stated the following in relation to a recent incident in which a woman in her local neighbourhood had her hijab pulled off by an unknown man:

That situation just scared me...I hear situations like that happening... And it's just scary because it's like coming closer and closer to [her city].

Nadia also felt that Muslim victims of hate crime may be deemed unworthy victims because of their religious or racial identities. For example, Nadia provided the following statement about the Quebec mosque shooting:

I don't think it received enough attention, because I feel like 9/11 was a big thing and up until now, 9/11 is still such a big thing. But the whole Quebec mosque shooting thing. I feel like even...years from now, people are not going to remember it as much as they remember the 9/11 situation.

In addition to sharing stories about indirect experiences with anti-Muslim hate, Nadia also expressed worries that some police officers may not punish or record hate-incidents consistently. For Nadia, her lack of confidence was particularly triggered by a discriminatory encounter her cousin encountered with a local officer. Specifically, Nadia indicated that after her cousin was pulled over by who she believes was a xenophobic or racist officer, her confidence in the police's efforts to counteract anti-Muslim hate crime diminished:

Hearing these kinds of stories happening with my cousin...an officer just pulling her over for no reason at all, I want to feel protected [against hate-crime]. But, at the same time, I feel like I'd approach an officer who wouldn't even do anything about it.

Comparable to Maleeka and Nadia, Hanan also expressed anxieties about potentially falling victim to Islamophobic hate incidents. Hanan not only expressed a fear for her personal safety, but she also admitted that she sometimes worries about her mother's wellbeing. She further suggested that her mother wearing a hijab and being an immigrant deemed her a suitable target for anti-Muslim hate speech:

She wasn't born here. So, if something like that did happen to her, she wouldn't really know how to react. Especially if she's alone.

Hanan went on to add that she was personally reluctant to wear a hijab in public:

If I go out in public in the future and someone sees me wearing a hijab or something, I would be afraid. Like, I totally understand why people who wear hijab on a day-to-day basis...would be afraid, because I feel like I probably would be too, if I were wearing it daily.

Unlike Maleeka and Nadia, Hanan specified that the degree of fear she feels in regards to experiencing hate victimization, and the level of confidence she exhibits towards police abilities to combat hate are dependent on location. For example, while Hanan stated that she was “*pretty confident that the police would do something*” about hate-crime in her municipality, she believed

that officers in other areas, such as Quebec, would “*take [anti-Muslim hate-crime] a little bit too lightly.*”

Though Omar failed to describe any personal experiences with hate crime, per say, he still expressed that some police officers refuse to treat anti-Muslim hate incidents as high-priority offences. Similar to Maleeka’s earlier assertion, Omar indicated that the ambiguity in the Criminal Code’s definition of which behaviours constitute hate-related offences often leads to their dismissal:

I have my biases towards the police... You have a lot of people who just, you know, take notes and put it into the computer. If somebody commits a hate crime, that's in the middle and that's just going to be reported...It will lurk in the system for a while.

Additionally, Omar attributed the police’s ineptitude in protecting Muslim Canadians against societal hate to their inadequate training and flawed structure. He expressed that hate-crimes are categorized as “*middle-ground*” offences, which he perceives as neither low priority, nor high priority offences. According to Omar, highly skilled officers are likely to be assigned more “serious” cases, while hate crimes are often dealt with by novice officers:

The way it has been man-powered and the way the talent has been shifted, if you're a really talented police officer, you're on the top. They will put you in departments that deal with homicides. They will not put you in the middle grounds. You have a lot of beginners who just graduated two years ago - not experienced officers - in that middle ground.

Omar’s cynicism and lack of faith in police efforts to penalize anti-Muslim hate are further evidenced by the following statement:

The police is doing lip service. They don't really give a crap about our religion or anything. They're doing lip service just to get along and get their salary.

Omar concluded that the Canadian government should establish provincial task forces solely dedicated to processing and handling hate-related offences nationwide:

I feel giving the police so much duty - like traffic violations, murder homicide, theft, and hate crime. They don't have enough mental capacity to specialize in one thing. We expect the police to do so much. I think anything to do with hate crime, [we] should not go to the police. There should be a law enforcement...dedicated to hate crime.

As evidenced above, the majority of participants in this study showed a lack of confidence in the ability of Canadian law enforcement agencies to deliver successful policing. Though few participants in this category communicated concerns about police efforts to counteract domestic terrorism, the majority expressed dissatisfaction with police responses to anti-Muslim hate crime. More specifically, many participants indicated that police may be dismissive of Islamophobic hate incidents for a variety of reasons, including lack of training, prejudice, or a perceived lack of urgency. Alarming, many of these same participants reported direct or indirect accounts Islamophobic hatred.

Perceived Discrimination

This theme encapsulates participants' perceptions and experiences with discrimination by Canadian law enforcement officers. There was a general consensus among participants that in the post 9/11 context, Muslim Canadians are disproportionately subjected to harassment, strict scrutiny, heightened surveillance, and discrimination by airport, police, immigration, and border officers. Many participants felt that counterterrorism measures and laws with enormous discretionary powers may be exercised unreasonably or arbitrarily against actual or perceived Muslim suspects. For a few participants, discrimination by societal institutions, including enforcement agencies, created feelings of pressure to defy stereotypes linking Islam with violent radicalism. Fatima, Abdul, and Usama shared that one of their immediate thoughts after hearing about a global or domestic terror attack is whether the perpetrator self-identifies as Muslim. For example, Fatima asserted in her interview that:

We [Muslims] have a stigma around us that our religion is violent... I think if a terrorist act occurs, everyone automatically thinks it was a Muslim organization.

Abdul shared a similar perspective, stating:

When that happened [the Quebec mosque shooting] somebody just said, 'You know there's been a shooting at a mosque?' I'm like, 'What happens is if it's a Caucasian man?' If it's a Caucasian man...he was mentally distressed. If it's a South-Asian man...he's a terrorist. If it's a black man, it's gang-related. There is no...absolute justices. Call it what it is. If it's a mass shooting, call it a mass shooting, or call it a terrorist attack.

Though many participants agreed that stereotypes of Muslims as terrorists may be manifested within various societal institutions, including political and media sectors, Maleeka felt that the conflation of terrorism with Muslims may specifically be endorsed by law enforcement officers:

When people think of terrorism, they think the perpetrators are always Muslims. This bias is enacted by police forces as well and they believe that they are doing their job by flagging all risks. We just happen to be the risk they need to assess because of our identity.

Beliefs that ethnic and racial profiling tactics are strongly embedded in counterterrorism operations were held by various other interviewees. Many participants corroborated Sabina's claim that there are "*definitely racist officers.*" For example, Abdul asserted that intrusive antiterror measures not only target Canadian Muslims, but they may also be directed towards any citizen "*who may be of the darker skin tone.*" More to this, Abdul believed that in comparison to white Canadians, racial minorities are more likely to be "*taken to the side to be questioned, searched privately, or given harsh, verbal attitude.*"

Fatima agreed with Abdul's perspective, adding that instead of practising aggressive national security measures to prevent terrorist threats, enforcement officers may use them to justify racial profiling:

I don't think that counterterrorism measures in Canada target all Canadians equally... rather than completing thorough background checks, there is an emphasis on targeting the minority.

Fatima further stated that Caucasian perpetrators of terrorist attacks are less likely to receive punitive sanctions, as compared to their coloured counterparts:

When a white man succeeds in an act of terrorism he is looked as the victim or being mentally ill. But, when a brown man succeeds in an act of terrorism, their whole entire religion comes up as a part of the cause of the attack.

Khadija also acknowledged racial discrepancies in the implications of counterterrorism policies, particularly at the Canada-US border. For Khadija, encounters with the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) have often been accompanied by feelings of fear and paranoia of being stopped. Mirroring Fatima's assertion, Khadija felt that her skin tone renders her a suitable target for intensive questioning by CBSA officers:

I think it's no coincidence that the person next to you who has a pickup truck and is white takes five minutes, gets cleared, and goes through the border. Whereas, it takes a good percentage of time - so perhaps, 50% more of the time - that we're spending talking about my dad's origin of country, my parents, who's in the car. You can just tell it's harassing and they brush it off as security measures

Like Khadija, Usama also reported experiencing anxiety when encountering CBSA officers. Usama's worries, however, were not only prompted by his skin tone, but also by his distinct Muslim name.

Other participants expressed a fear of drawing unwanted attention from Canadian airport officials. For example, Fatima shared a past experience in which she felt she was targeted at a Canadian airport due to her religious visibility. While awaiting her flight to San Diego for her aunt's wedding, Fatima was the only one selected for a security screening among her family members. She attributed this incident to the fact that she was the only woman in her family wearing a hijab:

My sister and I were literally wearing the same thing. We were both wearing the exact same white sweater and sweatpants ...the only difference was literally the scarf on my head

Fatima added that she is especially conscientious about her behaviour and appearance when the possibility of being confronted by an enforcement officer arises. She went on to state that being selected for a security screening while travelling is “*always in the back of [her] head:*”

If I talk to someone, especially someone who is an authoritative figure, I have to watch what I'm saying.

Mohamed reported a similar encounter with a Canadian Immigration Officer before boarding a connecting flight from Amsterdam to Toronto. He, too, was selected for a security screening and further subjected to intensive questioning for forty minutes. Unlike Fatima, Mohamed believed he was targeted because of his choice to study Nuclear Engineering. He recalled being asked about whether the knowledge he had gained from his program could be applied to engage in illegal or terror-related activities. He was also interrogated about his opinion on international nations using destructive technologies. Mohamed was convinced that the immigration officer who questioned him was motivated by racist ideologies. He expressed the following:

By the end of the exhaustive interview, I was jittering thinking that some fool would deny me entry based on ignorant views and suspicion based on bigotry. I felt that my passionate knowledge about the field [Nuclear Engineering] only served to fuel his suspicions into further questioning.

While Khadija, Fatima, and Mohamed, shared discriminatory encounters with Canadian airport, border, and immigration officers, Abdul reported experiencing ethnic profiling by a local police officer. While awaiting his bus with a large laundry bag, Abdul was confronted and questioned by an officer about his possessions. When asked why he felt the officer targeted him, he answered, “*because [he] was a person of South Asian descent.*” Like Mohamed, Abdul’s

perceived discriminatory encounter evoked feelings of frustration. Abdul reported being *“extremely upset and frustrated that the colour of [his] skin dictates [his] future that is in the hands of...higher authorities.”*

For many participants, their perceptions of racial and ethnic discrimination by law authorities were shaped by vicarious experiences. For instance, despite believing she had never been a target of racial profiling herself, Khadija stated she still had reservations about the police. When asked what triggered such reservations, she answered, *“watching other people’s experiences due to race”* and *“due to religion.”* In particular, Khadija described an incident in which her father had been issued a ticket for speeding by a parked emergency vehicle. While she acknowledged that her father did mistakenly commit a traffic violation, Khadija felt that he was, in part, pulled over because of his skin tone and gender. In another incident, Khadija claimed her Imaam [mosque leader] was pulled over for speeding due to his long beard and religious dress. In relation to these two events, Khadija postulated that traffic laws may be used to conduct stops in a racially discriminatory manner against actual or perceived Muslims:

I think a lot of the times - even psychologically within ourselves - we can justify using the law. But, the implication of stop and seizures and stop and frisk, it's a very prevalent issue of racial profiling.

Nadia agreed with Khadija’s assertion that police officers may use stop-and-frisk practices as a tool for racial profiling. Nadia’s perception was also influenced by a vicarious experience involving a family member. In her interview, Nadia alleged that her cousin was pulled over for an incomplete stop and then accused of distracted driving. In Nadia’s opinion, the officer who pulled her cousin over for a traffic infraction used the stop as a subterfuge for extraneous investigation:

What's so weird is that the officer noticed her phone in her lap and he brought it up saying how he could have just given her a ticket for having her phone... It's a different

story of using [her] phone and just having it in [her] lap. [He] didn't have proof that [she] was using it...The whole point of the pullover was for the incomplete stop.

Like Khadija and Nadia, Abdul, Hanan, Omar, and Usama also shared anecdotal accounts of discrimination by Canadian law authorities. Abdul explained that a few days after Trump was elected as President, his uncle was stopped and inappropriately questioned by a CBSA officer. Abdul described the dialogue between his uncle and the CBSA officer as follows:

He [the CBSA officer] was asking, 'Are you crossing to Canada because Trump was elected?' And my uncle jokingly said, 'Do you ask everybody that?' He's [the officer] like, 'No, I'm asking you because you're a minority.'

According to Abdul, the officer then threatened to issue a warrant for his uncle's arrest if he did not return by his intended date. When asked why he thinks his uncle was harshly scrutinized, Abdul replied, "*solely because he was Brown.*"

On the other hand, Hanan, Omar, and Usama each shared stories of veiled women in their families being subjected to harsh scrutiny while travelling. Usama, for example, stated:

My mom wears a scarf and whenever she travels overseas, she's always thoroughly questioned. Random people would come up to her and be like, 'Have you ever been alone? Where are you going?'

For Hanan, witnessing veiled family members endure harassment while travelling caused her to internalize fears of being victimized herself:

I've had personal relatives who are going back to Pakistan and they have to do the whole security check just because [they're] wearing a whole abaya and niqab. I fear that maybe in the future, what if I decide to do that? Will that same thing happen to me?

Omar shared this same internalization of fear, which he purports was triggered by a discriminatory encounter his mother faced at a Canadian airport during Ramadan. Omar explained that his mother was delayed for two hours "*because she had religious clothing.*" He attributed the isolated incident to the fact that it was the only time she wore a hijab while travelling. He proceeded to explain that during other flights, which were scheduled outside of

Ramadan, his mother never dressed religiously, and, subsequently, was never singled out for a security screening. After his mother's encounter, Omar reported going as far as to avoid wearing any visible religious markers before entering any Canadian airport. This meant being "*clean shaven,*" "*no traditional clothing,*" and making sure he looked "*very conforming to the most average clothes.*" In his opinion, adopting such a strategy has helped him avoid harassment by airport officials. Despite having a distinct Muslim name, Omar stated:

I've never been harassed. And I think it's because I followed my parents' advice. 'Just wear...something happy, like a normal person.' You know, black shoes, sweatshirts, a blazer.

Though Omar admitted that he had never personally been stopped by Canadian airport or border officials, his efforts to conceal his Muslim identity while travelling are clearly reflective of his beliefs that some law authorities may hold racial or religious biases. This observation is further substantiated by the following statement:

I'm sure they [airport officials] design some policies that justify discrimination and find a loophole in the legal code that allows them to do it.

The narratives provided above clearly demonstrate that participants' experiences with discrimination by Canadian law authorities ranged in proximity, nature, and severity. Despite these variations, each participant expressed, on some level, that authorities of various capacities may exercise discriminatory treatment against Muslim or brown-skinned individuals. Many participants communicated that such mistreatment of members of their community could be motivated by prejudiced beliefs typecasting Muslims as "terrorists" or "criminals." There was also a general consensus that certain religious markers may render Muslims more susceptible to harassment.

Positivity towards Law Authorities

This theme relates to positive perspectives and opinions about Canadian law enforcement agencies. Though each participant expressed that Muslims or racial minorities may be subjected to discrimination by law enforcement officers, the majority expressed optimistic attitudes towards them. For instance, Nadia noted that police agency corruption may be attributable to “bad apple” police officers. She speculated that there may be “*a few officers who give zero interest towards Islamophobia,*” and are inattentive to an anti-Muslim hate-crime. In spite of this belief, Nadia avoided making generalizations about discriminatory practices and Islamophobic sentiments held by police. On the flip side, she stated:

But, then there are some officers who do have a strong heart and I feel like they would want to help [counteract anti-Muslim hate-crime].

Khadija also noted that police and national security investigators may support stereotypical judgments or unjust treatment towards Muslims; yet, she still communicated a strong belief in the legitimacy of justice institutions:

While the police may have bias and endorse preferential treatment, there is still some element of our society that requires to be enforced and policed.

Khadija’s response to the mistreatment and profiling of Muslim communities in the post 9/11 context was one of resilience. She admitted that while she may have reservations about police, Muslim communities should aim to collude with law enforcement and develop “*stronger ties with [their] allies.*” Khadija’s prominent belief in the power and authority of justice institutions is further substantiated by the following statement:

I'm sure I'm not the only one that has reservations, but I could see that we would need them [the police] eventually. You can't fight the system, so let's work with the system.

Similar to Khadija, Abdul affirmed that Canadians, whether Muslim or not, rely on enforcement agencies to protect their communities and preserve national security. Though he

believed that Muslims may be subjected to unfair scrutiny and surveillance by national security investigators, he still displayed confidence in the ability of law enforcement agencies to combat terrorism:

I feel confident that any law enforcement agency...provincial or federal... [has] the ability to handle any form of terrorism across Canada. If we examine the previous terrorist attacks on Canadian soil or by a Canadian citizen, the Canadian government was always involved. With Omar Khadr, the government did step in. Regardless of stepping in late, the government was there.

In addition to this, Abdul justified the use of profiling tactics in counterterrorism endeavors, so long as they are not racially-motivated. He described that while some authorities may employ racially-biased practices, others may exercise profiling tactics that are necessary to maintain national security. Abdul provided the following analogy to exemplify his point:

When you try to rent out a house, you say, 'I'm looking for males or females. I'm looking for non-smokers' What are you doing? You are profiling somebody who walks in your house. If you turn around and look at it from CBSA's perspective or law enforcement's perspective, who are you welcoming in your country? They're not doing it to racially profile you...They're just doing their job.

Further, Abdul did not allow his past discriminatory encounter with the Peel Regional Police to deter him from applying to Canadian enforcement agencies. Instead, he viewed his minority status as a possible benefit to his policing career:

I'm actually applying to the RCMP. And other police services. I'm even looking into CBSA myself. So, they're actually looking for minorities and having that background in criminology, being a minority myself, I can also speak multiple languages. I think that brings my file even higher onto their table.

Another positive perception of Canadian law enforcement agencies was voiced by Fatima. After being selected for a security screening while awaiting her flight to San Diego, Fatima requested to be searched by a female officer. Given that Fatima wears a hijab, she is prohibited, by Islamic teachings, from revealing her hair to any man who is not her husband.

Fatima indicated that she was pleased the officers accepted her request, and did not even fault them for being unaware of the Islamic rule:

I don't blame them [the airport officials], because sometimes they don't know the stance. They don't know that a male can't touch me...I like the fact that they respected that, you know, I need a female.

Finally, though all participants asserted that Canadian law enforcement agencies may employ unfair policing tactics against Muslim or minority citizens, there was a general agreement that police misconduct was more prevalent in other nations. Sabina, for instance, reported more discriminatory encounters with American border officers than Canadian. She shared a past experience in which she believes her aunt was stopped by a US Customs and Border Protection (CBP) officer solely because she was wearing a scarf:

Right when they [her aunt and family] were at the border, they [CBP] asked them to open up...the back of the truck.... I think there wasn't a necessary need for them to do that because yes, if they were carrying something or something was suspicious But, I personally believe because she was wearing a scarf...Because, we could have been pulled over, too. We're the same religion, she's my aunt directly, same culture. But we got away with that.

Sabina also voiced her concerns about the detrimental impact Donald Trump's xenophobic rhetoric has had on American law enforcement's treatment of Muslim citizens. For example, she stated the following about many Americans' reactions to Trump's inauguration, including her cousins:

A lot of people were I guess scared...for their lives. Especially living in the US because they had the fear that somebody would come and do something to them and no one would care because they're Muslim. And that's exactly how my cousins were feeling, that, you know, 'If something even happens to them no one's going to care.'

In her interview, Sabina stated that Trump's anti-immigrant and Islamophobic remarks have not only authorized public hatred of Muslims in the US, but also in Canada. Nonetheless,

Sabina expressed that, in comparison to her cousins who live in the US, she has more faith in Canadian police officers to take the necessary precautions to protect her from hate crime:

Here, if something happens to me, at least I know that the government or law enforcement will put themselves out there to find me. However, if something goes wrong there, [in the US], no one's going to care. Even police officers are not going to care or look for the person or investigate what's going on.

Like Sabina, Hanan also expressed worries about travelling to the US, due to Trump's immigration ban against multiple Muslim-majority countries:

For me, I know I have family in the US. Now, I'm debating on if I really want to go through that whole security, everything like that just to go visit my family. Just because I'm Muslim, you know.

Hanan also, somewhat, mirrored Sabina's contrast between American and Canadian enforcement agencies and their efforts to respond to anti-Muslim hate-crime. Unlike Sabina, Hanan's confidence in Canadian authorities' efforts to address anti-Muslim incidents depended on the location of the police force:

Here in Durham Region, I am pretty confident that the police would do something, but other than like Durham Region, anywhere else in Canada, I think it would completely depend. In the US, I don't think I'd be safe but in Canada, it just depends where.

Despite feeling less protected by certain Canadian police forces, such as the Sûreté du Québec, Sabina still expressed greater confidence in Canadian authorities over American. Similarly, Nadia claimed that there is much more racial and ethnic diversity within the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority (CATSA) than there is within the American border and airport agencies. She further indicated that she and her family have been stopped by the CPB multiple times:

When we drive to the states, anytime we'd be at the border, they'd tell us to come in. And we'd be thinking like, 'Are they not going to let us go towards the US?' But no, after looking at our passports, they just let us go and there was no point of stopping. So, we wouldn't know exactly why they stopped us. Sometimes my dad would think maybe it's because of my mom's Norwegian passport. Or, maybe it's because they're racist.

Usama also communicated greater satisfaction with his local police force, as compared to American agencies. According to Usama, York Regional Police represent diverse ethnicities and are therefore much less likely to engage in racial profiling:

I feel like it's a lot better over here in Canada [than the US] and especially in Markham, where it's super multicultural.

Conversely, Maleeka contended that American and Canadian authorities alike, particularly airport officials, are less likely to endorse discriminatory practises than European officials:

I feel like they're much more nicer and accommodating ...in North American airports. But European, it's kind of like, 'Oh a black person. Like, you know, 'a Muslim person.'

Evidently, while all participants in this study acknowledged that law authorities may endorse racially-biased behaviours against actual or perceived Muslims, the majority still displayed some level of positivity towards them. The narratives provided above, coupled with the negative accounts previously shared about discrimination and lack of efficacy, indicate that some participants compartmentalized their evaluations of authorities. For example, while Khadija expressed discontent with police use of discriminatory practices, she still recognized, accepted, and respected them as a legitimate social institution. Similarly, while Abdul showed little satisfaction with how police dealt with a robbery at his workplace, he still praised law enforcement for their ability to solve terror-related crimes. On the other hand, others noted that while police bias and discrimination does exist, not all authorities should be generalized as racist, and that some officers do show respect for cultural diversity (i.e. Nadia and Fatima). Additionally, few participants even minimized police discrimination in Canada by asserting that racial bias within certain international enforcement agencies is far more severe (i.e. Sabina, Usama, Hanan, and Maleeka).

Relation-building

The fourth and final thematic category centred around participant desires to strengthen the relationship between Muslim communities and law enforcement agencies in Canada. All participants expressed a need for citizen-law enforcement relation-building. Each participant offered one or more strategies for law authorities to build relationships of trust and respect with Muslim individuals. One of these strategies included establishing open dialogue with Muslim citizens. Hanan felt that by promoting regular communication and interaction with Muslim individuals, police could help eradicate feelings of fear towards them:

We [Muslims] don't really talk to the police. If I see an officer, I'm more scared to talk to them if anything... And I feel like to really get rid of that feeling, they should talk to us. You know, act like human beings towards us.

Coinciding with Hanan's point of view, Sabina suggested that law authorities “*get to know*” Muslim community members by initiating casual conversation. Sabina asserted that simply greeting Muslim civilians, or asking them about how their day is going, could go a long way in establishing a sense of security. She emphasized that this sort of communication-building is particularly important for Muslims who have personally felt victimized by police or those who hold cynical views towards them:

There may be some people that would have that view, that they [the police] would think of me as a terrorist. But...a police officer putting themselves out there, talking to them, who knows, they could change the mind of that individual who thinks that.

In Fatima's interview, she stressed that direct communication between police officers and Muslim individuals was necessary to ensure officers gain credible information about Islam. She recalled attending an event in her town mall that allowed members of her local police force to converse with Muslim civilians, and “*clear up any questions they had*” about Islamic practices.

In addition to advocating for more events like the one held in her hometown, Fatima suggested that officers visit mosques to develop “*an understanding of what Islam promotes.*”

Likewise, Sabina proposed that law enforcement officers “*at least know the basics of [Islam].*” In her interview, she stated:

It's better to, you know, understand different cultures, different religions. And that's how you can understand better how that person is. It's just like when your friends with somebody you know, you get to know ...their religion, their culture ... You get to know the person by spending time with them.

Another element that emerged as a crucial precursor to relation-building between Muslim communities and law enforcement was representation. Abdul communicated a pressing need for more racial and ethnic diversity across various justice institutions. He went on to state that police officers should aim to visit mosques during an Islamic holiday:

You know, how Muslims have Eid or some big celebrations? I think it would make sense to dispatch a liaison officer or even an officer that represents that community.

Khadija and Nadia not only underscored the importance of community engagement between state representatives and Muslim communities, but they also demanded that such efforts were exercised persistently. For instance, Khadija stated:

I don't want to see the mayor come to the mosque only on the day of Eid, because elections are coming. I don't want to hear about that. I want to hear about continuous involvement. I want to see more effort.

Similarly, when asked what could be done to strengthen the relationship between Muslim Canadians and law enforcement authorities, Nadia replied:

There's just so many situations where you'd have to perform for that trust to build up. But, as long as the person isn't stopping and they're dedicated to that trust, then it should occur. If there was somebody that never gave up to completely get rid of Islamophobia, then that is dedication right there.

Maleeka indicated that recruiting more visible Muslim officers may also encourage young Muslim men and women to pursue a policing career:

I think appointing Muslim chaplains in the Toronto police community is a really good way to ...engage the Muslim people to go into the policing. I think little things like building that bridge between the Muslim community and the general police office organization is a good step.

Unlike Abdul and Nadia, whose concerns centred around the underrepresentation of visible minorities in Canadian police agencies, Nadia focused on the lack of diversity within the CBSA. She noted that of all her previous interactions with Canadian border officers, none of them appeared to be Middle-Eastern or South-Asian. Correspondingly, Nadia suggested that increased representation of Muslim border protection officers could be a viable step in promoting trust with Muslim travellers:

They [law enforcement] should work on getting more diversity around the border, just so they could show that Canada isn't just a white people country. It's a diverse country. So, anyone approaching the border, if they know the person's Muslim, they just are much more relieved and they feel more comfortable.

Another prominent finding was that many participants noted a directional relationship between police treatment of Muslims and societal attitudes towards their communities. It was repeatedly insinuated that law enforcement agencies may be able to enhance Muslims' sense of belonging by exercising their authority to denounce anti-Muslim hate. For instance, Usama felt that by issuing public statements that condemn Islamophobic behaviour, “higher-ups” in Canadian police forces could convey their acceptance for Muslim citizens. In doing so, Usama also felt that law enforcement authorities could elicit trust from Muslim communities.

Similarly, Maleeka demanded that police agencies respond more swiftly to anti-Muslim hate incidents and label them criminal when appropriate. Elaborating on this, she deemed the mere presence of police officers in Muslim communities an ineffective strategy for relation-building. With respect to the strained relationship between law enforcement agencies and Muslims in Canada, Maleeka commented:

I think people try to solve it [by] placing police officers in the community. But I don't think that's a solution...I think building trust is speaking through your actions... When a hate crime happens and the police act really swiftly to it, it shows the Muslim community...they actually care.

Maleeka went on to praise the founder of Paramount Fine Foods for offering to pay for the funerals of the victims of the Quebec Mosque shooting. She suggested that the government take similar steps to reassure Muslim communities of their safety:

I think the president of the Paramount paid for all of their funerals. So, I would have liked to see a bit more I guess initiative from the government itself. Just saying, 'Hey, we don't stand for this.'

Like Usama and Maleeka, Abdul also recognized the power enforcement agencies hold in influencing public perceptions of Muslims. For instance, he proposed that the government's appointment of Ahmed Hussen as the first Muslim Minister of Immigration could potentially reduce anti-immigration views held by some of the Canadian public. Abdul indicated that by hiring Muslim recruits, enforcement agencies could *"let others know that even though we [Canadians] have other minorities...or other racial groups working for law enforcement, they are here to help."*

Maleeka shared a very similar position, describing the appointment of Ahmed Hussen as *"symbolic"* and *"empowering."* She stressed that it was important for *"proud, equity-minded Muslims"* who *"will not leave their identity at the door"* to hold such representative roles. She also believed that police agencies would be less likely to dismiss Islamophobic incidents if they were comprised of more Muslim individuals. She claimed that *"Muslims not being in these spaces where decisions are being made about them"* was problematic:

I know for a fact that if it was like an influential person that works within Muslim police enforcement...If they could control who declares a hate crime, it wouldn't be like that.

Omar, on the other hand, offered enforcement agencies two unique strategies for addressing Islamophobia and eliciting trust from Muslim communities. First, Omar suggested that enforcement officers engage in recreational activities with visible Muslims in public atmospheres. An example he provided was arranging a soccer match with a Muslim student organization on a university campus. In doing so, Omar argued that the police could help reverse public misconceptions about Muslims, by pairing “*religious symbols*” with “*positive events*.” Second, Omar suggested that law enforcement agencies work towards educating the public on the causes of terrorism. He further stated that an online or in-print conference paper would constitute an effective and accessible medium:

What would be nice is if the law enforcement had a monthly conference paper ...where police...the federal level...[state]: ‘This is our December’s analysis of terrorism. How many happened, why it happened, all the theories we have, the statistics, what we can do’ ...You know, you want to see that because often what I see is mere reporting.

By engaging in interactive activities with Muslim citizens and educating the public on terrorism, Omar suggested that law authorities could help dispel negative stereotypes about Islam. As a result, he believed this could also help authorities gain the respect and trust of Muslim Canadians.

While Khadija similarly felt that enforcement agencies should actively work towards gaining the trust of Muslim Canadians, she also placed responsibility on the Muslim community to reciprocate trust-building behaviours. She stressed that Muslims should be “*more accepting*” and “*interact with kindness*” towards non-Muslims. She also commented that the onus of educating non-Muslims about Islam, should in part, be placed on Muslims themselves:

Sometimes I think it's not about answering a simple question, try to answer that in a way that they [non-Muslims] would understand. Let's not always refer back to the text all the time. Let's try to keep things a little bit more modern. Respect other faiths, as well. We shouldn't be talking down to Judaism and Christianity ...You really got to show that we are kind as Muslims...So, we have to start within ourselves if anything.

In sum, all participants in this study offered one or more strategies for improving the relationship between Muslim communities and enforcement agencies in Canada. While many recommended enforcement-based initiatives, such as racial diversification, increased dialogue, and Islamic educational programs, others stressed that Muslim individuals need to be more respectful, accepting, and receptive towards law authorities and their relation-building efforts.

c) Participant Willingness to Cooperate in Crime Control Efforts

The second objective of the current study was to investigate the factors that shape participants' willingness to cooperate with police in general crime and anti-terror operations. To gauge participants' intentions of cooperating in general crime control efforts, interviewees were asked to indicate whether they would report to police any type of criminal activity, including anti-Muslim hate-crime. Two questions were used to determine participants' willingness to cooperate in counterterrorism efforts. First, was whether they would notify police of a potential terror-risk. Second, was whether they would be open to collaborating with law authorities in the development of counterterrorism strategies. Table 2 provides a detailed breakdown of each participant's cooperative intentions by type of crime control.

Table 2

Willingness to Cooperate with Law Authorities by type of Crime Control (N=10)

Participant Pseudonym	Report General Crimes	Report Terror Risks	Collaborate in Counterterrorism Developments
Usama	Yes	Yes	Yes
Khadija	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mohamed	Yes	Yes	Yes
Omar	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sabina	Yes	Yes	Hesitant
Abdul	Yes	Hesitant	Yes
Maleeka	Hesitant	Yes	No
Nadia	Hesitant	Hesitant	Yes
Hanan	Hesitant	Yes	Yes
Fatima	Hesitant	Yes	Yes
<i>Total (N)</i>	6	8	8

Though participants reported varying degrees of comfort in assisting and working with law authorities, the interview data revealed three recurrent themes that influenced their cooperative intentions. These included: (a) moral obligations, (b) trust in authorities, and (c) instrumental/personal factors. The following section provides a detailed account of how each theme shaped participants' decisions to cooperate with law enforcement.

Moral Obligation

The first and most prevalent theme focuses on participant desires to fulfil moral obligations of upholding societal norms, respecting authorities, and denouncing harmful criminal behaviour.

Despite their perceptions of procedural injustice against Muslim Canadians, especially in counterterrorism policing, the majority of participants still communicated a definite willingness to cooperate with law authorities in general crime and/or antiterror efforts. Fatima, for instance, indicated that she would report terror-risks and collaborate with police in antiterror strategies “*no matter the circumstance.*” For Fatima, Maleeka, Usama, Hanan, Mohamed, and Khadija, their willingness to cooperate with authorities was motivated by a moral obligation to secure public safety and protect their communities. For example, in relation to whether she would report terror-related risks, Maleeka stated:

As a human being, I care about the well-being and safety [of] others. For more serious crimes that will affect a significant population and community and puts others in risk, I would report it right away to bring it to the attention of proper authorities and potentially save a life.

Similarly, Hanan indicated that she would not hesitate to report a potential terror-attack for fear of indirectly inflicting harm onto others:

A whole terror attack, that affects the entire population, like a whole community rather than one person. So, it wouldn't just affect me. But, it would affect everyone around me. So, of course I would report that.

Usama not only commented that he would notify police of general crime and terror-risks, but he also expressed a willingness to collaborate with them in counterterrorism strategies.

Usama expressed a need to “*prevent violent, hateful acts committed against innocent people,*” particularly offences targeting other Muslims:

I...think it's important for Muslims to be involved in the development of counter-terrorism strategies as they [terrorists] mainly target us and not the general population.

Mohamed also attributed his eager willingness to work with police against all types of crime to moral reasons. Despite his belief that the process of counterterrorism was discriminatory and counterproductive, he felt obliged to assist police in their efforts to maintain public safety.

He stated this willingness was shaped by moral standards, *“informed primarily by [his] interpretation of Islam to mitigate harm to others whenever possible.”*

Though Khadija and Omar’s willingness to engage in both general crime and anti-terror efforts were informed by moral principles, their rationales differed slightly from those offered by the abovementioned participants. For example, Khadija stated that she would report anti-Muslim hate incidents to the police to denounce hate, bigotry, and violence:

I feel as if we do nothing, if we disregard it [hate-crime], it’s almost as if we are accepting it. We are accepting that this is a normative measure.

Furthermore, both Khadija and Omar reported a sense of moral obligation to obliterate racial biases within the justice system. In her interview, Khadija indicated that she would fear being viewed with suspicion if she were to report a terror-threat:

In the back of my mind, I’m always going to wonder if I was part of the investigation. The problem is if I report it, I’m acknowledging it. If I keep it hidden, I don’t say anything...I would always feel like I would have to justify and defend myself that I did not partake in this.

Further, Khadija expressed that although she did not fit the *“stereotypical”* profile of a terrorist, she still experienced paranoia about being incriminated:

I think the fact I don’t speak with an accent... Yeah, I’m very assimilated to Western society, can help me but it could also be a key point - a key factor in an investigation. That maybe I was the perfect description because I was hidden from actually being discovered.

Despite these reservations, Khadija stated that she would still report terror-risks to the police. She went on to explain that she viewed cooperating with law authorities as a necessary means to earn their trust, which could, in turn, open collaborative opportunities. Khadija’s willingness to cooperate with authorities was strongly motivated by her desire to *“create innovative ideas”* that could help counteract discriminatory practices against racial minorities. Khadija also expressed a need to *“represent diversity”* and *“cleanse the negativity”* within law

enforcement agencies. She concluded that rather than allowing discriminatory or unfair treatment to deter them from cooperating with law authorities, Muslims should seek to cooperate with, join, and reform law enforcement agencies:

I think if we [Muslims] were to look at it more of a way of growing in society, a way of moving forward, we would...take away some of our feelings, some of our emotions, and just look past. How can we move forward? How can we do something that's actually going to help people? It needs to be cleansed of course, our law enforcement, and perhaps even more regulated, but before this may even happen, we cannot completely disengage.

Likewise, Omar expressed a strong desire to cooperate and collaborate with law authorities in both general crime and antiterror operations. It became evident throughout Omar's interview that he had done extensive research on Islamophobia and terrorism. He often contextualized terrorism as “a grand system of big politicians” hiring anonymous killers for monetary or tangible gains. He also recognized the West's overemphasis on Islamic terror groups and its consequential exacerbation of anti-Muslim sentiment. Omar asserted that he and other Muslims should work with authorities to dispel misconceptions about Islam and terrorism. Like Khadija, he also insinuated that cooperating with authorities in their crime control endeavors was a necessary means to earn the trust of legal actors, which is imperative if Muslims wish to be offered such collaborative ventures.

Though Maleeka, Usama, Hanan, Khadija, Mohamed, and Omar agreed law authorities may unfairly criminalize Muslims, these perceptions did not override their moral obligations to comply with authorities in certain contexts. For these six participants, their moral compass served a stronger role in shaping their cooperative intentions (i.e. for some types of crime) than their perceptions of procedural injustice. Of these participants, four reported intentions of reporting general crime, reporting terror-related risks, and collaborating with police in the development of antiterror regimes (Usama, Khadija, Mohamed, and Omar). On the other hand,

two communicated a willingness to report terror-risks and collaborate with police in antiterror developments (Fatima and Hanan). Finally, one expressed a willingness to report terror-risks only (Maleeka).

Distrust of Law Authorities

This theme encapsulates participants' distrust for law authorities and how this reduced their willingness to cooperate with them in certain contexts. For five participants, fears of being manipulated, stereotyped, or falsely accused by authorities diminished their intentions to report crime or collaborate in antiterror efforts. For instance, though Maleeka reported a moral obligation to report terror-risks to police, she felt that for certain crimes, particularly hate-related offences, she would need to be accompanied by a human rights lawyer before approaching police.

I feel like the police have the resources and the ability to actually investigate [hate-crime], obtain the footage and do all of that, and obviously I'd want justice. I wouldn't go to them myself. I'd have someone support me...Especially when there's issues about declaring whether it's a hate crime or not I'd want that person there with me.

She added that due to her identity as a young ethnic minority woman, police may not “*take [her] seriously:*”

I feel like because of me being a young person who is Somali and still a university student, they [the police] would take advantage of that. Like, 'she doesn't know her rights. She doesn't understand the legal system.'

Conversely, Abdul communicated a direct willingness to report hate incidents, and other general crimes, but expressed some hesitancy to report terror-related risks. His reluctance to inform police of potential terror-related activities was, in part, due to a fear of falsely being incriminated:

I want to say, I would [report terror-risks]. But a part of me would be kind of scared because, what if that backfires on me? I think I would probably just be an anonymous tip or I would tell probably somebody I trust.

Though Sabina indicated that she would promptly report general crime and terror-risks, she expressed some reluctance to collaborate with authorities in the development of counterterrorism strategies. Like Abdul, she also feared police could potentially view her with suspicion due to her religious identity. She was apprehensive about whether this suspicion could cause her physical harm. Sabina indicated that she “*probably wouldn’t want to put [herself] through the risk of being involved*” in anti-terror collaborative projects for the following reason:

How will I know that they [the police] could protect me? Yeah, they will say they can protect me. But here is the odds of it: If that's just me and they could save a hundred lives, they'd rather put me down and then save 100 lives... It's one of those things, like do I want to die or possibly die, or do I want to take the risk and just do it?

Unlike Abdul and Sabina, who only expressed a disinclination to cooperate in anti-terror operations, Nadia expressed uncertainties about reporting both general and terror-related crime. For Nadia, her willingness to report non-terror related crimes depended on whether she had sufficient evidence to prove her innocence. She explained that her urgency to display reliable proof of a criminal event was driven by a sense of fear:

If it was a situation where I heard from another person, I wouldn't have that much confidence to tell the officer because I didn't see the situation myself... I'd feel a little bit scared going up to the police officer... Honestly, even if a police officer ever approached me, I'd be so scared...because they have like full power over everything.

Nadia also offered a similar explanation when asked whether she would notify police of a terror risk. She believed that without proof, she could fall victim to a wrongful accusation:

If I didn't have full proof over the situation [the terror risk], I would be afraid of the officer accusing me of something. Because, I wouldn't have anything to defend myself with.

While Hanan expressed a moral obligation and definite willingness to report terror-risks, regardless of the circumstance, she indicated that her willingness to inform law authorities of other crimes depended on her level of trust towards them. For Hanan, the race of police officers

played a significant role in shaping her trust. For example, when asked whether she would feel comfortable reporting an anti-Muslim hate crime to police, Hanan stated:

It depends. If they [the officers] are white, I probably wouldn't feel comfortable. If they're brown or if they're black I would...because they could probably understand me more... than someone who is white.

In sum, distrust in law authorities diminished cooperative intentions with law authorities for half of the sample (i.e. five participants). This included two in regards to reporting hate-crime (Maleeka and Hanan), one in regards to collaborating with police in antiterror strategies (Sabina), one in regards to reporting terror-risks (Abdul), and one for reporting both general and terror-related offences (Nadia).

Instrumental/Personal Factors

The final, yet least prevalent theme, captured a few instrumental and personal factors that enhanced or diminished participants' intentions to assist and comply with law enforcement officers. With respect to certain types of crime, Maleeka, Fatima, Abdul, and Omar indicated that neither distrust, nor moral obligations, determined their willingness to cooperate with law authorities.

For Abdul and Fatima, their willingness to report particular crimes relied on their perceptions of the efficacy of law authorities and justice institutions. For instance, Fatima stated she would only report a hate-related offence to the police if she believed the perpetrator would “get caught.” She specified that she would most likely not report the incident if it was “just going to be a waste of [her] time.” Similarly, Abdul stated he would report non-terror related crimes without hesitation because, “if [he] is in need, [he] is going to call who’s going to help [him] fast.”

In addition to attributing his definite willingness to assist police in any crime control endeavor to moral reasons, Omar also indicated his willingness was partially informed by instrumental factors. Specifically, he claimed he would undoubtedly report any crime to police, as doing so could benefit him in future legal proceedings:

If you have a legal action to follow...it's [the crime] is time-stamped. It's not something I'm making. Because what police does, is every notice you give them those incidences are for government records. They're really useful in any type of legal proceeding.

Comparatively, Maleeka's decision whether to collaborate with law authorities in antiterror efforts was also influenced by personal factors. However, her reasoning was not motivated by self-interest. Maleeka, instead, indicated that she would not be open to assisting police in the formation of counterterrorism policies due to her self-perceived incompetence. She felt that other Muslims would qualify as stronger candidates for the job:

I feel like maybe other people who are Muslims who are well-versed with the law. And things like that. I think they'd be more competent to prevent but also know what's feasible what's not.

As demonstrated, instrumental and personal factors only influenced cooperative intentions for the minority of participants. Of these participants, one indicated a reduced willingness to collaborate in the development of antiterror strategies (Maleeka); one expressed intentions of reporting any crime, including hate-related offences (Omar); one indicated a possible willingness to report hate-crime (Fatima); and one reported a definite willingness to report non-terror related offences (Abdul).

Overall, the results presented in this chapter not only displayed diversity in participant experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of law authorities, but they also illuminated various dynamics between these factors and cooperative intentions. The narratives provided also

demonstrated that participant decisions to cooperate with law authorities were not always informed by one unique factor, but rather by a multitude of factors.

VI. Discussion and Conclusion

This research has investigated ten Muslim Canadians' experiences, perceptions, and cooperative intentions towards law authorities in the post 9/11 context. The themes drawn from this study reflected a mixture of positive and negative sentiments toward authorities of various capacities, including Canadian border agents, police officers, national security investigators, and airport officers. Various rationales behind participants' intentions to cooperate with authorities were also identified, including moral motivations, distrust of authorities, and instrumental/personal factors. This chapter seeks to contextualize these findings in relation to preliminary research and derive theoretical and practical implications. A discussion of the current study's limitations and possible areas of future research will conclude.

The first goal of this study was to investigate ten Muslim Canadians' perceptions, opinions, and experiences with authorities. Four key findings emerged with respect to the first research objective. First, the majority of participants in this sample expressed a lack of confidence in law enforcement's ability to effectively combat crime. More specifically, some participants indicated that discriminatory counterterrorism measures may serve a counterproductive effect, while others suggested that police lacked adequate resources, training, and intentions of tackling anti-Muslim hate. These findings coincide with preliminary literature that has demonstrated high levels of dissatisfaction with police work among various ethnic and racial minority groups in North America (Cheng, 2015; Correia et al. 1996, Dowler, 2003; Weinrath, et al., 2012). Previous research has shown that citizens are likely to base their evaluations of police efficacy on their local crime rates (Cao, 2011). Thus, one explanation for why the majority of participants in this study reported dissatisfaction with Canadian enforcement services relates to the upsurge in the number of hate and terror-offences in recent years (Carvin,

2017; Statistics Canada 2017). For instance, some of the most serious terror attacks in Canada have taken place in the past five years, including those committed by Martin Couture-Rouleau, Michael-Zehaf-Bibeau, Aaron Driver, and Alek Minassian (Carvin, 2017; Tierney & Laboureux, 2018). Furthermore, a recent report from Statistics Canada (2017) revealed an overall 3% increase in hate crimes from 2015 to 2016. It is possible that many of the students recruited for this study were aware of these trends, especially given some of their criminological backgrounds. As a result, exhibiting such awareness could have swayed their perceptions of police effectiveness towards a negative stance.

Second, consistent with the large body of research documenting ethnic minorities' perceptions of police bias in North America (Weitzer & Tuch; 2004; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009; Jamil & Rousseau, 2012), all participants in this study communicated concerns regarding discriminatory tactics employed by authority figures against actual or perceived Muslims. Echoing Jamil and Rousseau's (2012) earlier findings on the narratives shared by South Asian Muslims in Montreal, many participants in this study expressed worries about being stopped by Canadian government officials while travelling. An interesting finding to note is that a few participants expressed anxieties about experiencing unjust treatment by law authorities, despite not having any past negative encounters with them. For these participants, such fears were, in part, triggered by discriminatory incidents that their close family members or friends endured. This finding is congruous with previous studies that have found a link between negative vicarious police contact and perceived police discrimination (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; Peirone et al., 2017). Weitzer and Tuch (2006) assert that citizen attitudes toward the police may be socialized through 'vicarious learning'. As such, some participants in this study may have

internalized negative experiences their family members or acquaintances encountered with law authorities (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006).

Further, given that prior research has shown a link between vicarious experiences with police and negative sentiments towards them (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; Peirone et al., 2017), it is also possible that participant perceptions of police bias may have been shaped by media influences. For instance, research has shown that repeated media exposure to incidents of police abuse towards ethnic minorities may lead them to develop stronger beliefs of police discrimination (Cheng, 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Since 9/11, the Canadian government has inadvertently contributed to the torture of various Muslim Canadian men by providing international states with inaccurate intelligence (Bronskill, 2017). Some of these men include Maher Arar, Muayyed Nureddin, Abdullah Almalki, and Ahmad Elmaati, whose stories have each garnered significant media attention (Bronskill, 2017). The publicization and dissemination of such stories could have had an adverse effect on some participants' perceptions of counterterrorism policing in Canada.

Next, despite the fact that participants in this study each communicated concerns about Muslims or racial minorities being subjected to unfair treatment by Canadian law enforcement officers, most participants expressed some level or aspect of positivity towards them. Specifically, participants indicated that Canadian enforcement officers are far less discriminatory than officers from international agencies, that not all Canadian law authorities hold racist or Islamophobic views, and that the criminal justice system was a legitimate social institution. There are a few possible explanations for why the majority of participants in this sample expressed positive sentiments towards law authorities, despite their recognitions that some may employ discriminatory practices. First, prior research has shown that university educated

Canadians are more likely to express positive views towards criminal justice institutions than those with lower educational attainments (Cotter, 2015). Additionally, this study's sample was slightly over representative of women, who have consistently been found to report more favourable views of police than men (Cao, 2011; Cheng, 2015; Correia et al., 1996; Lai & Zhao, 2010; Rice & Piquero, 2005; Weinrath et al., 2012).

Fourth, there was a general consensus among participants that Canadian law authorities should work towards strengthening their ties with Muslim communities. Replicating some of the themes drawn from Gaskew's (2009) earlier study on Muslim Americans' perceptions of police, participants in this study suggested that authorities educate themselves on the basic teachings of Islam, establish ongoing dialogue with Muslims civilians, and participate in the daily lives of Muslim citizens. In addition, participants recommended that authorities publicly dispel myths linking Islam to terrorism, swiftly punish and condemn acts of hatred towards Muslims, and recruit more Muslim officers. Given that all participants in this sample expressed concerns regarding the discriminate policing of Muslims after 9/11, it is not surprising that they also communicated a need for law enforcement officers to improve their relations with Muslim civilians.

One final observation worth noting is that participant perceptions of police misconduct did not seem to vary by their academic disciplines. Both criminology and non-criminology majors alike shared the perception that discrimination and racial bias are prevalent issues in contemporary policing. This finding contradicts Sethuraju and colleagues' (2017) earlier study, which found a higher propensity towards perceptions of police misconduct among non-criminology majors than criminology majors in an American sample. One possible reason for the congruity in student opinions about police discrimination among participants in this study is

offered by Mbuba (2010). He suggests that the influence of educational background on citizen opinions about police reduces significantly when negative police contact is controlled for (Mbuba, 2010). In accordance with Mbuba's (2010) assertion, it is possible that negative direct and vicarious contacts with enforcement officers fueled perceptions of police discrimination among criminal justice majors in this sample.

The second research objective of the present study was to investigate participants' willingness to cooperate with authorities in general crime control and counterterrorism efforts. The majority of participants in this study indicated that they would inform police of non-terror related crimes, including hate-related offences. Likewise, the majority indicated that they would report terror-related risks or collaborate with authorities in the development of antiterror strategies. Three main factors that informed participants' decisions to cooperate with authorities were identified. First, of the participants who reported a desire to cooperate with authorities in either general or counterterrorism efforts, the majority attributed their willingness to moral reasons. Most of these participants communicated a moral obligation to maintain the wellbeing, safety, and security of their communities. These findings support previous research on citizen-police moral alignment (Hough et al., 2010; Van Damme & Pauwels, 2016). More specifically, they indicate that when citizens are more likely to believe law authorities behave in ways that align with their moral values, they are more likely to report compliance behaviours (Hough et al., 2010). While the participants in this study may not have agreed with law enforcement's use of racially-biased practices, they may have still believed that their efforts to denounce harmful behaviour were consonant with their personal morality. These findings suggest that police legitimacy is not only shaped by factors such as procedural justice, but that it also relates to the

police's ability to negotiate order in such a way that represents community values (Hough et al, 2010).

Furthermore, a few participants indicated a moral obligation to either help police demystify harmful misconceptions about Islam or reduce racism in the justice system. These participants viewed cooperating with authorities as a necessary means to earn the trust of legal actors, and thereby open up such collaborative opportunities. Interestingly, the latter finding suggests that in contrast to much of the extant scholarship on procedural justice, perceptions of police discrimination may serve to enhance, rather than reduce, cooperative intentions for individuals who wish to reform the justice system.

Despite the majority of participants communicating a direct willingness to assist police in antiterror efforts, a few expressed hesitations to report terror-related risks or collaborate with authorities in counterterrorism developments. Similarly, the minority of participants indicated that they would be reluctant to report non-terror related offences, such as anti-Muslim hate crimes. Of these participants, the majority attributed their disinclination to cooperate with authorities to a sense of distrust. More specifically, they shared worries about being manipulated, stereotyped, criminalized, or physically harmed by government officials. These findings were congruous with results from previous Australian-based studies that have revealed a negative correlation between ethnic minorities' distrust of police and their willingness to cooperate with them (Murphy et al. 2017; Sargeant et al., 2014). As before, previous research supports that perceived procedural fairness (i.e. the belief that the police are fair in their decision-making and treatment of citizens) is a key antecedent of trust in police (Sargeant et al., 2014). Furthermore, Goldsmith (2005) suggests that ethnic and marginalized groups may harbour feelings of distrust toward police as a form of self-protection. In keeping with the two aforementioned propositions

(Goldsmith, 2005; Sargeant et al., 2014), it is possible that the distrust exhibited by some of the participants in this study was shaped by direct or vicarious discrimination with law authorities. Once acquired, these perceptions of distrust may have been maintained to prevent personal victimization of discriminatory encounters, such as those experienced directly or indirectly in the past (Sargeant et al., 2014). Not cooperating with police (i.e. reporting crimes) may have therefore been viewed as a necessary means to prevent mistreatment at the hands of authorities.

The final factor motivating participants' intentions of cooperating with law enforcement officers in this study related to personal or instrumental factors; however, this only applied to the minority of participants. Most participants in this category indicated that they would be more inclined to report general crime to the police if they believed the perpetrator would get caught, that their efforts would not be a waste of time, or that doing so could benefit them in a legal proceeding. These findings coincide with former American, Australian and UK-based studies that have shown a link between ethnic minority perceptions of the efficacy of justice institutions and cooperative intentions with legal actors (Bradford & Jackson, 2016; Murphy et al., 2015; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). It is worth noting that of the participants who reported that instrumental factors shaped their intentions of cooperating with police, this was predominantly with respect to reporting non-terror related crimes. Most of these participants were still willing to report terror-risks, despite potentially being exposed to personal risks (e.g. incrimination, mistreatment by police, use of time/efforts, etc.). This finding suggests that for most participants in this group, instrumental effects on cooperative intentions diminished when crimes with more widespread harm (i.e. terrorism) were taken into consideration.

As displayed above, the data derived from this study only lent partial support to procedural justice theory. Unexpectedly, despite the fact that all ten participants acknowledged

that some authorities may employ discriminatory practices against Muslims or racial minorities, the majority still reported a willingness to cooperate in antiterror crime control efforts. This was also true with respect to the majority of participants' willingness to report non-terror related crimes, including hate-crimes. These findings contradict most of the extant literature on procedural justice, which has tended to show a negative correlation between citizen beliefs in the unfairness of policing procedures and their cooperative intentions with police (Kahn et al., 2017; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004; Tyler et al., 2010; White et al., 2015).

Why, then, did procedural justice, fail to play a significant role in shaping cooperative intentions toward law authorities among most participants in this sample? In addition to moral incentives and instrumental benefits, what other factors could have contributed to their cooperative intentions? Perhaps one factor that renders this sample unique is that the majority of participants exhibited coping strategies to perceived discrimination that have typically been found to minimize its deleterious effects. For instance, many participants indicated that embracing their ethnic identities and engaging in solitary or communal religious practices helped them deal with thoughts of Muslim Canadians being subjected to discrimination. These two coping styles have consistently been found to alleviate discrimination-related stressors and psychological distress among Muslim and Arab populations in North America (Rodriguez, Mosquera, Khan, & Selya, 2013). For example, in a previous study of Arab immigrants residing in Montreal, Hassan et al. (2013) found that possessing positive judgments and attitudes about one's Arab identity helped reduce feelings of depression and anxiety that resulted from discrimination. In another study by Abu-Raiya et al. (2011), positive religious coping responses to discrimination resulted in positive mental health outcomes among Muslim Americans. That is,

participants who expressed a secure relationship with God, greater spiritual connectedness with others, and greater involvement in interfaith dialogue and Islamic educational programs reported high levels of personal strength (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011). Similarly, of the participants in this study who indicated that they would be willing to cooperate with authorities on some level, the majority expressed positive religious or ethnic-related coping responses to direct or vicarious discrimination. These strategies included: (a) performing salat (i.e. Islamic prayer), (b) teaching friends or acquaintances about Islam, (c) participating in ethnic clubs or events, and (d) wearing cultural clothing in public.

Drawing from the findings derived from Abu-Raiya et al. (2011), and Hassan et al. (2013) studies, it is possible that the positive coping mechanisms many of the participants in this sample exhibited in response to anti-Muslim discrimination (community and state-based) may have promoted high levels of prosocial and emotional maturity (Lee et al., 2010). In other words, by practising coping styles that help alleviate negative emotional responses to discrimination, this may have helped participants to make objective assessments of authorities. More specifically, they may have been able to regulate any negative emotions triggered by vicarious or direct discriminatory encounters with law authorities, in such a way that allowed them to maintain their beliefs in the legitimacy of authorities (Lee et al., 2010). In turn, possessing legitimacy judgments about authorities could have promoted cooperative willingness. These findings have important theoretical implications. It may be possible that the aversive effects of perceived procedural injustice on citizen perceptions of and cooperative behaviours towards authorities only persist for individuals who exhibit poor cognitive and emotional coping responses to discrimination.

Nonetheless, this study's finding that distrust in authorities was the primary contributor of uncooperative intentions has important practical implications. If law enforcement authorities wish to gain the cooperation of Muslim Canadians, particularly those who view authorities with suspicion and distrust, they should cease to employ procedurally unjust policing tactics. That is, authorities should seek to: (a) exercise consistent and neutral decision-making (particularly in relation to counterterrorism policing), (b) treat Muslim citizens with dignity and respect, and (c) give Muslim communities a voice (by considering their perspectives on how to combat anti-Muslim hate crime and domestic terrorism). Law enforcement agencies in Canada should also implement proactive initiatives designed to help build trust and mutual respect with Muslim communities. Exemplary initiatives include racial agency diversification, Islamic cultural awareness training, and community outreach activities (e.g. sports events, interfaith dialogue, etc.). These strategies may help reduce any feelings of fear or cynicism Muslim Canadians may hold towards authorities.

Another practical implication of this research pertains to hate crime policing in Canada. As before, many participants in this study expressed low confidence in the ability of legal actors to effectively prevent and punish anti-Muslim hate crimes. A significant number of participants also shared direct or indirect experiences with Islamophobic hate-incidents, including verbal abuse and intimidation. In light of these findings, it is important to consider and remedy the various complications associated with Canada's current legislation surrounding hate crime (Perry, 2015; Lawrence, 2009; Roberts & Hastings, 2001). Perry (2015) attributes the frequent dismissal of hate-motivated acts in Canada to two main factors: free speech legislation and police hesitations to report such incidents. She also asserts that though there exist three provisions in the Criminal Code (1985) that may address hate crime (S. 318, i.e. promotion of genocide, S.

319, i.e. public incitement of hatred, and S. 319.2, i.e. wilful promotion of hatred), the threshold for charging individuals under these provisions is high, resulting in few charges and even fewer convictions (Perry, 2015).

Furthermore, while subparagraph 718.2(a)(i) of the Criminal Code (1985) instructs sentencing judges to consider crimes "motivated by bias, prejudice, or hate" as aggravating circumstances, Roberts and Hastings (2001) observe various shortcomings of this provision. First, the provision grants sentencing judges wide discretionary powers, which results in inconsistencies and variabilities in sentence lengths (Roberts & Hastings, 2001). Second, in order for the provision to be applied, prosecutors must prove beyond a reasonable doubt that hatred was the primary motivation for committing a crime (Roberts & Hastings, 2001). As a result, acts that are only partially, and not primarily, prompted by hate are prosecuted as regular crimes, instead of receiving harsher sentences (Roberts & Hastings, 2001). To rectify this issue, Roberts and Hastings (2001) suggest that judges not only consider the perpetrator's motivations during sentencing, but that they also consider the detrimental effects of their behaviour on victims. Alarming, research suggests that victim impact statements are only considered in a small percentage of cases (Robert & Edgar, 2007). For example, one study undertaken by Lawrence (2009) found that between 1996-2007, only half of hate-related offences to which section 718.2(a)(i) of the Criminal Code (1985) was applied referred to victim impact evidence during sentencing. The current study's findings, along with research displayed above (Perry, 2015; Lawrence, 2009; Robert & Edgar, 2007; Roberts & Hastings, 2001), suggest that criminal justice institutions in Canada ought to allocate more resources to policing and prosecuting hate crimes, and engaging victims in these processes.

Limitations and Areas of Future Research

Despite the contributions of the present study, it is not without limitations. The results that emerged from the present analysis were derived from a few participants and cannot be generalized to the Muslim Canadian population. More to this, the sample selected was solely comprised of university students. It is imperative that future researchers capture the perceptions and experiences of Muslims with lower educational levels. Scholars might also benefit from further exploring the impacts of education and academic major on Muslims' perceptions of police in a representative sample. Additionally, rather than assessing participants' cooperative behaviours with law authorities, this study merely examined their cooperative intentions. Future studies should seek to investigate what factors predict actual cooperation with authorities among Muslim Canadians. Third, due to the small sample size gathered, it was difficult to determine whether perceptions of and cooperative intentions with authorities varied by sociodemographic characteristics. Given the heterogeneity of Canada's Muslim population (Wilkins-Laflamme, 2018), a quantitative analysis that tests the predictive value of various sociodemographic factors on Muslims' attitudes and cooperative behaviours with law authorities would contribute to the literature.

Fourth, while many participants in this study shared various personal and vicarious experiences with societal discrimination (e.g. employment, online-hate, media bias, political disempowerment), none indicated that these experiences influenced their decisions to cooperate with authorities. Given that previous research has found a link between perceived societal discrimination (i.e. as distinct from police discrimination) and uncooperative intentions with police among Muslim Americans (Tyler et al., 2010), this area of research should further be explored in a larger sample.

The final limitation pertains to this study's analysis of procedural justice theory. After examining the results, it was stipulated that positive coping responses to discrimination (i.e. religious coping and ethnic identity affirmation) may buffer the theoretical relationship between procedural injustice and uncooperative behaviours towards law authorities. However, this proposition was offered after careful inspection of the current data and therefore cannot be generalized. Future researchers should employ quantitative methods to test the moderating effects of positive coping responses to discrimination on the procedural justice-cooperation link. Despite these limitations, this research offers viable strategies to help strengthen relations between law enforcement agencies and Muslim communities in Canada.

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Appendix A

Interview Guide

Demographics

1. What is your gender?
2. What is your ethnicity?
3. How old are you?
4. How long have you been living in Canada for?
5. What are you studying?
6. What is your relationship status?

Religiosity/Culture

1. Do you consider yourself to be religious?
2. Do you go to mosque?
 - a. How often?
3. Would you consider yourself more of a progressive or conservative Muslim?
4. How assimilated do you feel in Canada?
5. Do you feel proud to express your cultural identity?
6. Do you ever go out in public wearing traditional or religious clothing?
 - a. If so, what reactions do you get, if any?
7. Do you fear facing negative treatment when expressing your cultural or religious identity?

Discrimination against Muslims in General

1. What impacts do you think the events of recent global terror attacks, including the 2014 ISIS beheadings, 2014 shooting in Parliament Hill, and 2015 Paris attacks, have had on the general Canadian public's perceptions of Islam and Muslims, if any?
2. Do you think that anti-Muslim sentiment in Canada has increased, decreased, or stayed the same since the 2015 Paris attacks?
3. In the past three years, have you been a target of any anti-Muslim hate, such as racial slurs, verbal or physical threats, or harassment?
4. Do you know of any Muslim family members or friends who have been targets of anti-Muslim hate, such as racial slurs, verbal or physical threats, or harassment in the past three years?

Experiences on Campus

1. Do you sometimes experience feelings of isolation or alienation on campus, that you think is due to your religious or cultural identity?
2. Did you feel isolated or alienated on campus in the immediate months following the 2015 Paris attacks?
3. In the past three years, have you experienced bullying by other students due to your religious or cultural identity?
 - a. If so, can you please describe this experience?
 - b. When this happened, did you feel comfortable seeking help from school staff members?
 - i. If so, how was the situation dealt with? If not, why?
4. Do you know anyone else who has experienced anti-Muslim bullying on campus in the past three years?
 - a. If so, can you please describe this experience?

5. Do you know of any family or friends who have experienced anti-Muslim bullying at other schools in the past three years?
 - a. If so, can you please describe this experience?
6. Do you feel comfortable sharing your political opinions in class when discussing international affairs involving Islamic or Middle-eastern nations?
 - a. If not, why?
7. Do you feel comfortable sharing your political opinions on matters related to Islamic or Middle-eastern nations, outside of school?
 - a. If not, why?
8. Are you a part of any religious or cultural school organizations?
 - a. If so, why did you decide to join?
 - b. What impact has joining had for you?

Employment Discrimination

1. Do you fear being discriminated against by future employers due to your religious or cultural identity?
 - a. In the past three years, have you encountered an employer who did not accommodate you for a religious holiday or way of dress, or discriminated against you in any other way?

Discrimination while Travelling

1. Do you fear being stopped or harassed by Canadian or American airport or border officials? If so, why?
2. Have you personally had any experiences of being stopped or harassed by American or Canadian airport or border officials in the past three years? If so, why do you think you were stopped?
3. Do you know of any Muslim family or friends who have been stopped or harassed by American or Canadian airport or border officials in the past three years? If so, why do you think they were stopped?

Discrimination by Law Enforcement Officers

1. Have you ever been arrested or had an encounter with police?
 - a. If so, have you ever felt racially profiled by the police?
2. Would you be willing to report a crime to the police?
 - a. Why/why not?
3. Would you be feel comfortable reporting a hate crime incident to the police?
 - a. Why/why not?
4. Do you have confidence in the ability of Canadian law enforcement to protect you against anti-Muslim hate crime?
5. Would you feel comfortable reporting a discrimination complaint to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC)?
 - a. Why/why not?
6. Would you be willing to report police of a potential terror-related risk?
 - a. Would you fear being viewed with suspicion?
7. Would you be willing to collaborate with police in the development of counterterrorism efforts?
8. Do you think other Muslims, who have perhaps experienced racial profiling by law enforcement, would be comfortable collaborating with police in the development of counterterrorism efforts?

9. What do you think can be done to improve Muslim Canadians' trust for law enforcement officials?

Online Hate

1. Do you use social media?
2. Have you ever been a target of cyberbullying due to your cultural or religious identity?
3. Have you read any anti-Muslim hate comments online in the past three years? If so, what did these comments say?
4. Have you seen any derogatory images or memes related to Muslims or Arabs displayed through online social media platforms in the past three years? If so, what were the messages behind these images?
5. Have you personally been attacked online in the past three years due to your Muslim or cultural identity? What exactly was said?

Media/International depictions of Islam

1. How do you think the Canadian media portrays Muslims?
2. How do you think Muslims are portrayed in U.S. media?
3. What is your opinion on Donald Trump winning the 2016 Presidential election?
4. What impact do you think this will have on Muslim Canadians travelling to the United States?
5. What is your opinion on Donald Trump's immigration ban?
6. What impacts do you think Trump's Islamophobic rhetoric will have on Canadians in general, if any?
7. What was your initial reaction when you first heard about the tragic Quebec mosque shooting?
8. How do you think the Canadian and global media portrayed the Quebec mosque shooting?

Mental/Emotional Repercussions and Coping Mechanisms

1. Can you think of any experiences when you have faced discriminatory or negative treatment based on your religious or cultural identity, that triggered an emotional response?
2. How did this experience, or experiences, make you feel?
3. Do you feel that these experiences have had a negative impact on your mental state?
4. Have any of these experiences caused you to feel anxiety?
5. Have any of these experiences caused you to feel depressed?
6. Have any of these experiences caused you to feel angry?
7. Do you think these experiences have had a negative impact on your self-esteem?
8. Do you ever feel pressure to break stereotypes attached to Islam?
9. Do you ever feel afraid to express your cultural or religious identity?
10. How do you cope with anti-Muslim hate?
11. Do you think your faith helps alleviate negative emotions or stress?
12. Do you have a social support group you can talk to about experiences of isolation or discrimination, such as family or friends?
13. Have you ever sought counselling due to experiencing bullying or discriminatory treatment?

Closing

1. Based on what we've discussed so far, including your experiences with airport personnel, online hate, and discriminatory treatment in general, do you feel there has ever been a time when others have stereotyped you as a terrorist or criminal?
2. What do you think can be done to deal with Islamophobia in Canada?
3. Is there anything else you would like to add?
4. Do you have any questions about this study?
5. Would you like to be informed of the summary of results from this study?
 - a. How would you like to be contacted?

Appendix B
Consent Form



RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD
OFFICE OF RESEARCH SERVICES

Title of Research Study: Examining Perceived Discrimination among Muslim-Canadian young adults in the wake of recent Global Terror Attacks

You are invited to participate in a research study entitled, “Examining Perceived Discrimination among Muslim-Canadian young adults in the wake of recent Global Terror Attacks”. This study has been reviewed by the University of Ontario Institute of Technology Research Ethics Board (REB # 14235) and originally approved on April 03, 2017.

Please read this consent form carefully, and feel free to ask the Researcher any questions that you might have about the study. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the Ethics and Compliance Coordinator at 905 721 8668 ext. 3693 or researchethics@uoit.ca.

Researcher(s):

Dr. Arshia Zaidi (Principal Investigator)
Sarah Ibaid (Student Lead)

Departmental and institutional affiliation(s):

Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, UOIT

Contact number(s)/email:

Sarah.ibaid@uoit.ca
Arshia.zaidi@uoit.ca
905-721-8668 ext. 3443

External Funder/Sponsor: N/A

Purpose and Procedure:

The purpose of this study is to explore the discrimination experiences of young Muslim adults in the wake of recent global terror attacks, as well as the perceived emotional and mental repercussions of these experiences. Semi-structured interviews will be conducted; participants will be asked about their experiences, and fear of, facing discrimination by the general public (i.e. racially-motivated hate crimes both online and offline), by employers, and by Canadian law enforcement officials. Interviews are expected to last between 30 minutes to an hour.

Potential Benefits:

The information gathered from this study will provide insight into the experiences of social marginalization and stigmatization of Muslim Canadian young adults. These findings may also

help policy-makers to develop culturally-inclusive strategies for improving the emotional and mental health of young Muslim men and women subjected to various forms of discrimination.

Potential Risk or Discomforts:

Some of the questions you will be asked, particularly those relating to personal discrimination experiences, may trigger negative memories. If at any point during your interview, you do not feel comfortable answering a question, you may ask your interviewer to skip this question or withdraw from the interview completely.

Also, please be reminded that the Student Mental Health Services offers short-term counselling and therapy services to UOIT students. These services are free of cost and confidential. Drop-in sessions (30 minutes) may be scheduled for brief support and to schedule future intake appointments. These sessions can be booked on the day of in person or by calling the Student LifeLine at (905) 721-3392. Sessions are available at:

North Oshawa Location:

- **U5 building, U5-61:** Monday to Friday from 1:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Downtown Oshawa Location:

- **UOIT-Baagwating Indigenous Student Centre:** Tuesdays from 3 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.
- **61 Charles Street, Room 225:** Thursdays from 9 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.

UOIT also provides students who require long-term counselling or specialized mental health services with referrals to local and home community resources. Students may contact studentlifeline@uoit.ca to discuss referral options.

Confidentiality:

Your privacy shall be respected. No information about your identity will be shared or published without your permission, unless required by law. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law, professional practice, and ethical codes of conduct. Please note that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed while data are in transit over the Internet.

In order to maintain your confidentiality and anonymity, your transcript will not be assigned an identifier. If you consent to having your quote(s) published, your quotes will remain anonymous.

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary, and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. The information that is shared will be held in strict confidence and discussed only with the research team. Your decision to withdraw will not affect your compensation; participants who show up for an interview will still receive full compensation, even if they decide to withdraw at any point after the interview has started. If you withdraw from the research project at any time, any data or human biological materials that you have contributed will be removed from the study and you need not offer any reason for making this request. Please note that once data has been disseminated, it is difficult, if not impossible, to withdraw results.

You will be given information that is relevant to your decision to continue or withdraw from participation. If you consent to having your quotes included as part of this study's results (i.e.

anonymously), word-for-word quotes may be used. As these interviews will be conducted in partial fulfilment of the researcher's master's thesis, the findings derived from this study will be presented in front of the researcher's supervisory committee as well as an external examiner. The completed master's thesis report, which will include the anonymized quotations of those who give consent, may also be sent to other participants who wish to view a summary of the study's results upon completion.

Conflict of Interest:

You may or may not personally know the researchers of this study; it should be noted that all interviews will be conducted without compromising the researcher's professional judgment.

Compensation:

All participants who show up for interviews will be awarded an honorarium of \$10.

Debriefing and Dissemination of Results

The results of this interview will be included as part of the researcher's master's thesis paper. If you wish to receive a summary of the results of this study, you will be emailed a copy of the researcher's completed master's thesis report (this is expected to be completed by August of 2018). If interested, you may contact the researcher for updates: Sarah.ibaid@uoit.ca.

Participant Concerns and Reporting:

If you have any questions concerning the research study or experience any discomfort related to the study, please contact Arshia Zaidi at 905-721-8668 ext. 3443 or Arshia.zaidi@uoit.ca.

Any questions regarding your rights as a participant, complaints or adverse events may be addressed to Research Ethics Board through the Ethics and Compliance Coordinator – researchethics@uoit.ca or 905.721.8668 x. 3693.

By consenting, you do not waive any rights to legal recourse in the event of research-related harm.

Consent to Participate:

1. Do you consent to having your quotes included as part of the researcher's master's thesis paper? Please note all quotes will be **anonymous**. Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you consent to having your interview audio-taped? Audio files will only be accessible to the research team. They will be recorded on the interviewer's laptop and protected with a password. Yes ☐ No ☐

3. I have read the consent form and understand the study being described;

4. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I am free to ask questions about the study in the future;

5. I freely consent to participate in the research study, understanding that I may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. A copy of this Consent Form has been made available to me.

(Name of Participant)

(Date)

(Signature of Participant)

(Signature of Researcher)